

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY MAY 5 1960

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION & EDUCATION

THE LONDON QUARTERLY & HOLBORN REVIEW

Edited by J. Alan Kay, M.A., Ph.D.

APRIL 1960

Contributors Include

PENAL REFORM

J. ERIC FENN, B.Sc.
KENNETH G. GREET
J. ARTHUR HOYLES
C. A. JOYCE, M.B.E., M.A.
JOSEPH A. STRATTON, B.D.
G. FRAZER THOMPSON, M.A.
MERFYN TURNER

KAY M. BAXTER, M.A.
R. NEWTON FLEW, M.A., D.D.
JOHN FOSTER, M.A., D.D.
ARNE-JACOB KRISTOFFERSEN
A. J. LEWIS, M.A.
W. F. LOFTHOUSE, M.A., HON.D.D.



THE EPWORTH PRESS

[FRANK H. CUMBERS]

25-35 CITY ROAD LONDON EC1

Four Shillings and Sixpence Net

THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW
is published on 25th March, June, September and December. All contributions (typewritten, if possible) should be sent to the Editor, 25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1, with stamped addressed envelope.

Contents

Editorial Comments by J. Alan Kay, M.A., PH.D.	81	The Theatre Today and its Relation to Christian Thinking by Kay M. Baxter, M.A.	119
The Growth of Crime by C. A. Joyce, M.B.E., M.A.	84	Count Zinzendorf by A. S. Lewis, M.A.	125
The Causes of Crime by G. Frazer Thompson, M.A.	88	John Wesley's Letters to his Brother by W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., HON. D.D.	133
The Purpose of Punishment by J. Arthur Hoyles	93	Preaching Church History by John Foster, M.A., D.D.	140
The Nature of Prison Life by Joseph A. Stratton, B.D.	100	How Methodism Released Spiritual and Cultural Powers in Sweden by Arne-Jacob Kristoffersen	149
The After-Care of Discharged Prisoners by Merfyn Turner	104	Recent Literature edited by R. Newton Flew, M.A. D.D.	152
Capital Punishment by Kenneth G. Greet	110	From My New Shelf edited by R. Newton Flew, M.A., D.D.	158
The Concept of Responsibility by J. Eric Fenn, B.Sc.	114	Our Contributors	160

NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME

Since it was founded ninety-one years ago the National Children's Home has given to over 40,000 orphaned and needy girls and boys the chance in life which misfortune has denied.

It costs a lot to provide for this large family, but the money so spent yields a rich dividend. The bulk of the income is derived from voluntary contributions and an urgent appeal is made for continued and increased support.

*Covenanted gifts and legacies
are specially solicited*

Chief Offices: Highbury Park, London, N.5

P

C

ri

av

p

an

fr

p

pa

m

th

fo

su

se

W

of

an

we

in

do

C

an

su

th

lo

pr

Br

a

th

su

wa

we

N

so

be

se

R

PEN

C
right
awa
pris
and
from
pris
pass
men

But
this.
for a
suff
selve
Wh
of s
amo
were
in p
doin
Chr
and
sugg
the
look
pris
But
a m

It
ther
sun
way
wor
New
sou
ber
sent

Editorial Comments

PENAL REFORM

CHRISTIANS have always been concerned about prisoners, partly, perhaps, because they have so often been numbered amongst them. That happened right from the beginning, for as Sir Thomas More wrote when he himself was awaiting death in the Tower of London, 'Our Saviour was himself taken prisoner for our sake, and prisoner was he carried, and prisoner was he kept, and prisoner was he brought forth before Annas, and prisoner was he carried from Caiaphas unto Pilate, and prisoner was he sent from Pilate to King Herod, prisoner from Herod to Pilate again, and so kept as prisoner to the end of his passion.' And from that day to our own, there has been a constant succession of men and women who have been cast into prison for their faith.

But the Christian concern with prisoners is a more fundamental one than this. There are two strands to it. One is that the Christian is charged to care for all those who are in need, and prisoners have always been among the world's sufferers. The fact that most of them have brought their suffering upon themselves by wrongdoing does not cancel the Christian's obligation to care for them. When Jesus told the parable of the sheep and the goats He named various kinds of sufferers which those who would escape condemnation must serve, and among them were those in prison. The hungry, thirsty, strange, naked and sick were presumably for the most part undeserving of suffering; those who were in prison were presumably for the most part deserving of it. But their wrongdoing did not alter their need for Christian compassion or the duty which Christians had towards them. Whatever they had done they were in distress, and because of that Christians were to minister to them. (It has sometimes been suggested that the needy people in the parable were our Lord's 'brethren' in the particular sense that they were His followers. If so He must have been looking forward to the days when the Church would be persecuted, and the prisoners He referred to must have been those who were to suffer for their faith. But Jeremias gives reasons for believing this interpretation of the parable to be a mistaken one. See *The Parables of Jesus*, p.143.)

It is a central principle of God's dealings with men that His goodness to them has nothing whatever to do with what they deserve; the rain falls and the sun shines on good and bad alike. As this is the way of God, so it must be the way of those who would be His servants. Thus John Howard was moved to his work for prison reform by 'the sorrows of the sufferers'; Elizabeth Fry's work in Newgate began with the prisoners' desperate need for clothes, clean straw and soup; Vincent de Paul (the bicentenary of whose death we celebrate in September of this year), visiting the wretched men who were imprisoned before being sent to row in the royal galleys, was filled with horror when he saw the damp

walls, the black bread and water, the vermin and ulcers, and the appalling conditions which made their dungeons a living picture of hell.

The second strand of the Christian's concern with prisoners is that he is charged with a special responsibility for evil-doers. Like his Master, he is to be a physician concerned with those who are morally sick. No doubt prisoners are not the only people who are sick, and perhaps the sickness of some of those who are outside prison walls is greater than that of some of those who are inside them (for it is crime that is punishable by law, not sin); but prisoners are at any rate among those whose sin is obvious, and as such they are commended to the Christian's care.

Those who emphasize the needs of criminals lay themselves open to the charge of caring more for the evil than for the good. But no defence is necessary; the plain fact is that the evil always do take more caring for than the good. The sheep that stay with the shepherd are not very much trouble, but those that go astray take up an infinite amount of time and energy and patience; for them the shepherd has to go searching in the wilderness or on the mountains. It has not been necessary, so far as we know, for God to make the uttermost and costliest sacrifice of love for the angels, for except in legend they have never strayed away from Him. But men strayed away and found themselves shut up in the dungeons of sin; therefore they required everything that God could do. His way of visiting the prisoners was by an incarnation, and His way of transforming them was by a cross. If the sons of God really want to be like their Father, they must expect, then, to have to take more trouble over wrong-doers than over good-doers; they must expect, indeed, that the care of wrong-doers will be extremely costly. But that is the way they themselves have been treated by God, and so they have no cause to be resentful because in the divine family that is the accepted way of life.

Even the innocent victim is not exempt from this. It may very well be right to make a criminal pay a recompense, where that is possible, to those he has injured (Jesus evidently approved of Zacchaeus's decision to do so, though the suggestion did not come from Him), and it is interesting to read in the Government's White Paper of 1959, *Penal Practice in a Changing Society*, that it has been decided to set up an official working party to examine the idea and to see whether, if the principle is acceptable, a practicable scheme can be devised. Nevertheless, according to the teaching of Jesus, the victim's attitude towards the evil-doer should be concerned, not with exacting a recompense, but with giving him help. When a Roman soldier oppressed a Jew by conscripting him to carry his baggage, it was the way of serving the soldier that Jesus would have the victim concerned about, not the iniquity of Roman oppression. When a thief stole a man's coat, it was how the victim could benefit the thief that occupied His thought, not how he ought to be compensated. Jesus thought the most important thing He could say to the victim was that he must love those who ill-used him and show his love in whatever practical way was possible—even if it seemed a little ridiculous. In fact the victim was to go out of his way to serve his enemies. The Christian thus has a special responsibility for wrong-doers, whether he is merely an ordinary member of society or an actual victim, and the way he is to exercise it is by overcoming their evil with good.

It is therefore the business of Christians, in their works of compassion, to

concern themselves particularly with criminals. Thus John Wesley, while still at Oxford, paid regular visits to prisoners; indeed the first person to whom he offered salvation by faith was a prisoner under sentence of death. Similarly, Jean Péan, facing incredible difficulty and opposition, revolutionized the intolerable conditions on the penal settlement on Devil's Island, and turned hundreds of its inhabitants into good citizens. Similarly, Mathilda Wrede, who did such great work for penal reform in Finland, lived for a long time on 4d. a day, the allowance made for each prisoner, in order to share as far as possible the prisoners' lives and save money with which to help them. She once wrote: 'I believe that the secret of success in our work of rescue is to love those whom we seek to save without waiting until we find something lovable in them. What would have become of us if Christ had not loved us and come to our help?'

Exactly how our love for these enemies of society should be expressed is still in many ways far from clear. It will certainly be expressed in a way different from that in which we treat the rest of society, and may very well involve stern discipline but it is essential that it should remain love, that attitude which never fails in compassion and always seeks men's good. Love does not rule out severity, but it should be clear to any Christian conscience that there are some things it does rule out. The most obvious one is capital punishment. Whatever may be said about the justice of it (and with the present state of the law in this country it is difficult to defend it even on that ground), no one can pretend that it expresses any love towards the wrong-doer; it is the complete abandonment of him. Experience has shown that flogging is another punishment which must be ruled out, because it has the effect of rousing in a man more enmity towards society than he had before. The treadmill has long been recognized as another, for labour that is purposeless produces only desperate exasperation or the acquiescence that is spiritual death. Idleness is another, for even a good man's moral life disintegrates if he has nothing to do.

On the positive side, we can say that if a man is to learn to fit into society, he must learn by experience to mix with people; if he is to become trustworthy, he must have a chance of responding to trust; if he is to get back his self-respect, he must be treated with respect; if he is to believe that life is worthwhile, he must be encouraged by finding that there are some people (including if possible the members of his family) who care for him; if he is to take to the idea of making an honest living, he must learn that work is a worthwhile occupation; if he is to become adult in his attitude to life, he must be given some chance of growing a sense of responsibility; if he is to develop the strength and determination to live the good life, he must be made to feel that the good life is better than the bad one.

We have made a good deal of progress in discovering how these things can best be accomplished, but there is still much to be learnt. One of the welcome things, therefore, about the Government White Paper is its emphasis on research. It recognizes that 'Delinquency cannot be dealt with effectively without more knowledge of its causes and a more accurate measurement than we have at present of the success of the various forms of treatment', and says that the Home Office has therefore 'set up a Research Unit and assists from its vote research work being done elsewhere'. The Research Unit is at present studying 'the effectiveness of various forms of treatment when applied to different types of

offender', and a most impressive list of research projects, covering four pages, suggests that real progress is likely to be made. No doubt all this will take time, and when the necessary knowledge has been gained the application of it may be far from simple; but 'if this course is patiently pursued, it is hoped and believed that knowledge of crime and criminals will increase to the point at which measures can be taken to bring about a real reduction in the amount of crime and still more effective treatment can be given to each offender'.

Meanwhile there seem to be several things which we must all seek: first, a knowledge of the facts about crime, its nature and extent; second, a recognition of those conditions in our environment—physical, mental and spiritual—which encourage crime to grow; third, a right attitude towards the criminal and an understanding of what it is that we ought to be trying to do with him; fourth, some knowledge of the way in which, in our name, he is actually treated. And lastly, we must press for those reforms which experience and Christian principles already show to be necessary. We hope our readers will find the little symposium of articles which follow to be a help towards these ends.

THE GROWTH OF CRIME

C. A. Joyce

THE SITUATION in this country today leaves no room for complacency and I want to begin by saying that there are far too many people who are trying to 'write down' the seriousness of the problem. Let it be said straight away that *crime has been increasing for several years and on present showing there is little diminution*.

It is quite useless for people to find excuses. There are some who say that there is not more crime but that there has been increased vigilance on the part of the police, or that because magistrates are so much more lenient there is less reluctance to prosecute. Be that as it may, there would not be prosecutions without offences!

If we look at the criminal statistics, it will give some idea of the magnitude of the problem. Let us first consider the number of people found guilty of indictable offences—

Males

Age Group	1938	1956	1957	1958
Age 8 and under 14	14,724	20,813	23,697	26,050
" 14 " " 17	11,645	15,029	18,149	21,628
" 17 " " 21	10,131	13,425	16,962	21,322
" 21 " " 30	14,321	22,461	24,964	27,499
" 30 and over	17,858	30,226	32,156	32,835
Total	68,679	101,954	115,928	129,334

Females				
Age Group	1938	1956	1957	1958
Age 8 and under 14	835	1,527	1,580	2,033
" 14 " " 17	912	1,446	1,681	2,064
" 17 " " 21	1,320	1,757	2,059	2,461
" 21 " " 30	2,071	2,376	2,498	2,975
" 30 and over	4,646	6,814	7,174	7,847
Total	9,784	13,920	14,992	17,380

Now let us look at the figures for Magistrates' Courts: The number of persons found guilty of indictable offences by Magistrates' Courts was—

In 1938	.	.	.	.	.	69,851
in 1956	.	.	.	.	.	98,179
in 1957	.	.	.	.	.	110,222
in 1958	.	.	.	.	.	121,468

If anyone is particularly interested in pure figures, may I recommend them to send to the Stationery Office for a copy of the *Criminal Statistics* which were published by the Home Office in July 1959.

The main purpose of this article is, however, to indicate some of the main reasons for this increase and I feel compelled to list them in the following order.

First of all, the general fall in the standard of morality throughout the whole country. In my young days a man would say: 'Boys are not what they were when I was a boy', but today I would re-edit that and say, 'Grown-up people aren't what they were when I was a boy'. The youngsters of today are growing up in a society that is nothing like as honest as it was. Black and white, both merging into grey, are becoming indistinguishable. For example, the use of euphemisms for ugly things is common and is causing youth much amusement, thereby destroying any sense of guilt. 'Theft' is an unpleasant word and so is 'thief', but of course to 'win', 'scrounge' and 'liberate' are not quite the same. 'Fiddling' is regarded as a minor form of amusement and, where Income Tax is concerned, a legitimate form of evasion. Without labouring this point, one needs only to think about certain so-called 'expense accounts' and about the cars used by private people but paid for by the business. The weaker people of today are merely following an example which has been set by many who should know better.

Parental discipline is in many homes non-existent, and it needs to be said, in spite of its being an unpopular doctrine, that where both parents go out to work, the family is living in a house and not a home. So the problem is passed

on to the schools, and parents who will not or cannot control their children then decline to let the schoolmaster do so. If he resorts to corporal punishment he is very likely to find himself compelled to appear before the Bench, charged with assault, and too frequently, is unsupported. So I think there are many schoolmasters who tend to give up the unequal struggle.

The next point is the growth of what I should describe as 'pseudo-psychiatry'. Let it be said straight away that psychiatry is an excellent collateral aid in dealing with crime and *a good psychiatrist is indeed invaluable*, but the mal-practices that take place in the guise of psychiatry are doing incalculable harm and bringing the profession into disrepute. It has become something of a vogue and many well-intentioned people are misusing it. Here I would plead with magistrates to be careful not to be diverted from their proper function as judges into the channel of amateur psychiatrists. There is every need to understand why people commit crimes and to avoid a repetition of them, but that is not the same thing as being frivolously lenient and weighting the scales against society. I have often said that society has as much right to be protected as the criminal has to be understood.

Crimes of violence are all too common, and here again, I think it would be wise to remind ourselves of the magnitude of this problem.

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1956</i>	<i>1957</i>	<i>1958</i>
1. Murder	23	32	13	—
Capital murder	—	—	6	9
Non-capital murder	—	—	21	21
2. Attempted murder	15	36	34	37
3. Threats, conspiracy or incitement to murder	9	16	31	25
4. Manslaughter				
S.2 of Homicide Act 1957	—	—	11	25
S.4 of " " "	—	—	2	1
Other	45	51	56	49
4a Infanticide	11	11	16	10
4c Causing death by dangerous driving	—	1	133	162
5. Wounding and other acts endangering life	120	359	442	536
6. Endangering railway passengers	9	35	28	37
7. Endangering life at sea	—	—	—	—
8. Malicious wounding and like offences	1,195	5,158	6,022	6,686
9. Assault	39	185	184	213
11. Cruelty to or neglect of children	12	26	17	21
12. Abandoning children under two years	2	—	2	3
13. Child stealing	2	11	5	3
14. Procuring abortion	74	47	40	41
15. Concealment of birth	27	11	16	16
Total	1,583	5,979	7,079	7,895

Much can be argued for and against corporal punishment, but from my many years of Prisons and Borstal Institutions and eighteen years in an Approved School, I have no doubt whatever as to the deterrent value of such awards. *That I say with regret. I don't like corporal punishment or violence of any sort*, but I see no reason at all why criminals should have the monopoly of it. It is clear that they regard force as a deterrent, and indeed use it to put people into a state of bodily fear as a coercive measure to get what they want. To put it even more simply I don't see little men going around hitting big ones—and I think I know why!

The law in regard to capital punishment is farcical in the extreme at the moment. To batter someone to death violently and maliciously does not carry a penalty of capital punishment unless the perpetrator is stupid enough to take half a crown in the doing of it. I wonder how many people realize that!

Sexual offences must be mentioned, for they, too, are more common than the general public supposes. The following table shows comparative figures:

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1956</i>	<i>1957</i>	<i>1958</i>
Age 8 and under 14	119	313	318	326
" 14 " " 17	356	760	867	792
" 17 " " 21	354	633	676	798
" 21 " " 30	478	1,105	1,169	1,128
" 30 and over	1,014	2,538	2,609	2,379
Total	2,321	5,349	5,639	5,423

I wonder how many mothers are aware of the fact that half of the assaults by men on little girls take place in women's lavatories; it is no longer safe to assume that a child can go to the ladies' cloakroom in absolute safety if unaccompanied. Such unpleasant facts as these must enter into any consideration of the general state of morality and crime. One has no wish to quarrel with the findings of the Wolfenden Report (even if one has reservations) but the undesirable publicity given to some of the statements by the unpleasant press has caused a good deal of trouble, as I know to my cost. Boys have actually been to me and said, 'It's not wrong to behave like that any more, because it says in the paper that you can't help it and it's going to be legal anyway.' What a standard to set! And how are we to combat such a standard without a renewed educational attack on it?

Finally, this picture appears to be thoroughly depressing but it need not remain so. The number of people who can be cured of their criminal tendencies and restored to their proper place as citizens is very high. Over the last eighteen years, for example, the 'success figure' for boys leaving my own school has never dropped below 82%, and I append our current figures as somewhat of an antidote to the depressing figures that have been given above.

Fundamentally, the real cure must lie in a revival of religious faith and teaching—but this is another problem.

Extract from After-care Report of the Cotswold School dated 30th September 1959
 Total number of boys admitted into the School up to and including

30.9.59	1,366
School Roll on 30.9.59	132
	1,234

Of this number, 126 boys have been recommitted, certified or transferred to other establishments. The After-care of these 126 boys has not, therefore, been the responsibility of the Managers of the School
 This leaves

Of this number, 188 boys have been involved in trouble of a serious nature which has resulted in Prison, Borstal or Approved School sentences. This represents 16.96% which must be regarded as the School's failure figure.

Total percentage at present doing well 83.04%

164 other boys have been involved in trouble of a less serious nature which has resulted in their being brought before the Courts. As a result, they have been fined, bound over, placed on Probation or have received a Conditional Discharge. This represents a further 14.8%. The combined figures show that 68.24% have not been involved in trouble of any kind while on After-Care, which is an average period of 4 years after they leave School.

THE CAUSES OF CRIME

G. Frazer Thompson

THE PROBLEM OF CRIME, which is the subject of much discussion today, is not a new thing, arising in the present generation. It is age-old, and has its origin not in modern conditions but in man himself.

The manifestations of crime and its rate of incidence may vary from time to time, but the roots of it are deeply imbedded in human nature. Thus it can be stated plainly that crime will never be overcome except by a change of heart both in the individual and in the community at large.

In a sense this may be an over-simplification of the problem, and may lead either to a feeling that nothing can be done in the matter, or to the other extreme that the cure is simply the proclamation of the Gospel without seeking the means to ensure that the proclamation can be effective. The first course is as foolish as the alleged response of Marie Antionette to the cry of the people for bread. 'If they cannot buy bread let them buy cake', and the second as foolish as offering a famine-stricken people large amounts of indigestible food.

59
It must be recognized that crime is a malaise of society, and that not only must the remedy itself be offered, but the conditions and circumstances of living must be so ordered as to permit the effective use of the sovereign remedy.

There is a tendency to think of crime as the activity solely of criminals, and to suppose that to cure crime it is only necessary to curb their activities. But crime is a communal expression. Indeed, it is not extravagant to say the incidence of crime is in direct ratio with the standard of the morals of the community at large.

Mr C. A. Joyce, who writes one of the other articles in this present series, once related that he set a paper on social conditions for boys of a well-known public school. One of the questions was: ‘“The general standard of morality has declined.” Comment on this.’ One boy wrote: ‘I can see no difference between taking a pound out of the till and my father’s expense account.’ The standards of ordinary life are the guides to the conduct of individuals, for they provide the examples to be followed. If they are high, then those who are weaker in personality and character are assisted to honourable courses, but if the standards are low, the copyists will show a progressive deterioration leading to eventual crime. The very heavy incidence of crime which is attracting so much attention and causing so much alarm should therefore compel us to examine the moral and social conditions of our day, for in them will the causes be found.

Further significance is added to this view when it is remembered that this increase in crime has occurred at a time when the people of this country ‘never had it so good’. Poverty as it was known a generation or two ago is virtually extinct, and it cannot now be claimed that poverty is a cause of crime. It is true that there are occasions when it is pleaded by an offender, but it almost always transpires that the poverty is due to lack of personal effort.

The social, moral and psychological upheaval of the war has contributed much to the conditions which make for crime. Further, it frequently made the discipline of school life spasmodic, and, more important, it meant the break-up of family life. It destroyed not merely the physical fabric of many homes but the sense of security, and created a personal loneliness which was only alleviated by an incoherent ganging together of unrelated personalities. The dangers of that time and the subsequent fears of the H-Bomb have created the philosophy of escape epitomized in the words: ‘Let us eat and drink and be merry for tomorrow we die.’ The subsequent overcrowding has added to the feeling of unsettlement. Some of this has at least been alleviated, but the sense of unsettlement has continued.

These things, however, are contributory rather than primary causes of crime. Their elimination is of great importance, but the deepest need is for an alteration of mind.

It should be remembered that the vast majority who have suffered equally with the rest have nevertheless remained stable, and that crime is by no means the prerogative of the socially deprived. Crime is primarily an attitude of mind. This attitude is induced by the modern obsession with material values, and the consequent lack of idealism. This is revealed in the craze for less work and more money. The inevitable result is selfishness, and the ideal of service has to give place to personal satisfaction.

It is small wonder that many are influenced in this way, for wherever people go there are not only appeals to personal satisfaction but most persuasive suggestions to create the appetite for further gratification. It would appear, both from the advertisements that describe goods so alluringly and from the subject of a very large number of conversations, that happiness, pleasure, even life itself, are only attainable through the acquisition of every modern amenity. The result is that the amenities, valuable as they are, have ceased to be the servants of human needs and have become their harsh taskmasters.

If this is only partially true, it is yet bound to create, first, a wrong sense of values, and then an acquisitiveness that will brook no interference in attaining its satisfaction. This indeed is one of the greatest causes of crime, for it divorces the individual from his responsibilities and ties to others.

The effect of this is to be observed not merely in the actual commission of crime, but in the creation of the conditions in which it is most likely to flourish. The breakdown of home life has been frequently quoted as one of the most important causes of juvenile delinquency—and it may well be one of the most important causes of adult delinquency also. But a breakdown of family life is the result of parents caring too much for the acquisition of the amenities that are so widely advertised as life's essentials and wanting to enjoy them without the inconvenience and interruption of caring for and being interested in the welfare of their children.

This operates in two different ways. The first is neglect. There is no time to care for the children; they are an interference with the liberty to fulfil selfish purposes. In consequence, the children of such a home have no sense of security and even less of love, and are not only deprived of good standards but are set false ones. The second is less obvious but equally destructive. Parents who have set themselves the objective of material satisfaction frequently conclude that such satisfaction is also all that is needed by their children, and they are therefore lavish with their money and its equivalent but indifferent in their care and love.

It happens all too frequently that a distressed and amazed parent, appearing at a Juvenile Court before which his child has been brought, says in pathetic extenuation: 'I cannot understand how this has happened. He has been a good boy at home. I have never spared him anything. He has had everything he has asked for.' It has not occurred to that parent that he has given his own material values to his child, and that, in giving him an abundance of things, he has yet deprived him of the most precious gifts of love and interest. A somewhat similar pattern is to be observed in the breakdowns of adult life—separations, divorces. In many of these cases the failure is due to emphasis being laid on the satisfaction of personal desires to the exclusion of responsibility to others.

The results of this are far-reaching. They create a sense of frustration, a feeling that all the difficulties that are endured are caused by other people, and this ultimately induces resentment against society as a whole. But since people are innately social, even the dispossessed will seek companionship; having been deprived or having deprived themselves of their true companionship, they seek some other association, and this they frequently find in the most undesirable quarters. This side of things is illustrated in the groups of young people who are driven by personal boredom into an unholy companionship. Having no personal resources of interest, they create an anti-social society which finds its negative

satisfaction in destroying the symbols of things which they unconsciously covet.

The conditions which are thus created result in opposites that are yet linked with each other. The first is a rebellion—albeit unconscious—against the standards of modern society. The second is an acceptance of the same standards. This is most clearly seen in the often-repeated assertion by the criminal that 'they', i.e. constituted authority or society in general, owe him something, and that it is up to him to get it whether by fair means or foul. Other people appear to possess and to seek material benefits, and therefore he himself ought to have them. The means whereby these can be obtained is to him unimportant; the acquisition of money and the things money can buy is of supreme importance.

To this must be added the allurements of easy money. These allurements are offered in the much advertised and widely sought gifts of the goddess of luck. The enormous sums of money, temptingly but erroneously described as dividends, won in football pools not only stimulate desire but also suggest that luck is the only way to success. They therefore destroy the idea that rewards have any relation to labour and service, and they engender anti-social feeling in that the rewards of the few can only be the result of the losses of all the others. Envy of those who are fortunate enough to gain the great prizes is mingled with admiration of them, and not only emphasizes material standards but stimulates a greed that is determined to obtain its interests whatever the loss that may be entailed by them. This social habit, cloaking greed with the gaudy trappings of spurious adventure and risk, hides its moral evil.

It is possibly true that many people can and do indulge in the gambling habit without apparent danger to themselves, but it is also true that in many others it destroys the sense of personal responsibility and is therefore a very real cause of crime. Probably the most frequent excuse that is made by people discovered in crime is that they had bad luck. By this they mean that they were unfortunate in the choice or method of their illegal act (not the fact that they were responsible for it) and that they were particularly unfortunate in being found out. This attitude of mind is illustrated in the opinion not infrequently expressed that 'anything is all right if you can get away with it'. That opinion finds its expression in all kinds of pilfering, in shop-lifting, in taking odd things from employers, in buying from doubtful sources, and in many other ways. These are the beginnings of criminal behaviour, and not only may they lead those who indulge in them to greater criminal activities, but they set the example for others to follow; for it is very frequently stated in extenuation that 'everybody did the same thing', and then is added the old excuse that appears to remove the personal blame, that it was just bad luck that they were 'picked on'.

Reference has already been made to the loss of the sense of security. This is not an experience that belongs solely to those who in some way have been dispossessed, people who have no background of happy home life, but is an experience felt by almost all in contemporary life. This in part is a result of two world wars, which with their devastation and destruction of human life smashed into pieces the illusion of human nobility and revealed its depravity. What is left is that which can be seen, felt and enjoyed. Tangible things have replaced hopes and possessions have replaced ideals. Men, having seen their hopes fail, grasp at what material things they can gather, in the belief that these alone can give security, or its semblance, in an uncertain world. This it is which causes

many to live in and for the moment and therefore to be reckless and careless of the future. This is a notable feature in crime. Whilst there are crimes that are carefully thought out and planned, there are many more committed without consideration of the result. It is almost a commonplace to find that almost the whole of the planning of a crime has been directed towards the acquisition of the desired things and that no thought has been paid to the avoidance of detection and punishment. Crime is very often the result of an attitude of mind which finds its sole satisfaction in the immediate present irrespective of the ultimate costs. It is a mental anarchy where the rules of life, which are the embodiment of human experience, are discarded.

This attitude has even debased the charity and the goodwill that find their expression in the modern welfare state, for it has taken away in many cases the sense of personal responsibility both for the present and the future.

But the most destructive factor that is produced by material values is the cult of self. It is the cult of selfish interests that causes parents to neglect or to spoil their children. It creates the illusion of self-importance, of loneliness and of boredom. The criminal is carrying to its logical conclusion the feeling possessed by many people that the one goal of life is to satisfy one's immediate interests without regard to others. The catch-phrase of the day, 'I'm all right Jack', does express a considerable amount of present-day thought—or rather thoughtlessness.

This elevation of self and selfish interests must destroy the basis of society and finally even its individuals. Man cannot live alone, but is both dependent on others and responsible for others. It is upon this fact that society is built, and if the foundation is undermined by selfishness the whole edifice must fall. Crime can be seen as the cracks in the edifice that are the signs of that destructive undermining of selfishness, and the edifice will not be saved merely by patching the cracks, but only by restoring the foundation.

In discussing the causes of crime, it would be easy to make a catalogue of things which appear to induce or encourage crime. Such a catalogue would include housing, education, amusement, dog-racing, football pools, and the high wages of youths; but these are not the causes so much as an expression of modern conditions which assist in the production of crime. It is the purpose of this short article to suggest the thesis that crime is a mental condition which exists not only in certain individuals but in the community at large. Indeed, crime will not be cured merely by punishing or reforming offenders. It can only be cured by a change of mind in society as a whole.

To condemn crime and the criminal can, if no personal enquiry is made, be a dangerous thing and even create the condition for the propagation of both. The sense of the responsibility of each individual for the thinking and the living of his fellows must be felt. In other words, it is of small value to lecture others on the way in which they should conduct themselves unless in the practical affairs of daily life the example is given.

If indeed crime is a state of mind, then it becomes still more evident that neglect of God and of the Christian faith is its cause. Its cure can be found only in a return to God. That, however, must remain a piously-irreverent hope until the members of the Christian Church express their faith not merely in church but in daily life, and by their example set the standards of new and spiritual values, having themselves realized that 'man cannot live by bread alone'.

THE PURPOSE OF PUNISHMENT

J. Arthur Hoyles

FEW SUBJECTS evoke more animated discussion than that of punishment, and because the subject inspires strong feelings it does not easily lend itself to academic and dispassionate debate. Whether the penal action under consideration relates to nursery training, school discipline, imprisonment or the death penalty, the story is the same. Everyone has a point of view, but there is often a curious absence of rational argument and much begging of questions.

The fact is that, like many other aspects of human behaviour, punishment has its origin and dynamic in emotional reactions to wrong-doing—originally it was no more than naked retaliation—and unless people are willing to discipline themselves to be guided by reason rather than feeling, it will remain merely a safety-valve for the indignation aroused by the criminal act. The aim of this article, therefore, is to indicate and examine some of the basic principles to which appeal can be made in judging the merits or otherwise of penal policy. In civilized countries three main purposes have been attributed to punishment, and we will examine each in turn.

RETRIBUTION

The first is retribution, according to which it is a moral requirement that the guilty should be punished, whether or not such punishment does any good to them or to the community. The most renowned exponent of the theory was Immanuel Kant, who asserted that the law of punishment was a categorical imperative and that the infliction of loss or pain on the offender was an end in itself apart from any good it might do to anybody.

Kant also saw in retribution the only legitimate and effective method of fixing an appropriate penalty for a given offence. In answer to the question how harsh the sentence should be, he appealed to the principle of merit and sought to match the punishment with the crime. The suffering involved in the penalty must be as much as possible like the suffering involved in the crime. Hence he believed that the only suitable penalty for murder was death, appealing to the *lex talionis* and arguing that the offender could not complain of being unfairly treated when he simply had to suffer the same injury as his victim.

When pressed to say why the wrongdoer should have a proportionate injury inflicted upon him and on what grounds the principle of merit was invoked, Kant and his followers appealed to intuition. They said that ordinary people see a peculiar fitness in a bad man being punished and a good man being rewarded, and that such a widespread desire in the human heart cannot be disregarded.

Certainly such intuitions must be recognized. They may at times be a genuine and important expression of the truth. At the same time they must be carefully examined; and in this case it must be asked whether intuition is not based upon instinctive desires of the natural man which may not be a worthy

foundation for civilized behaviour. At least, such an intuition must be studied in the light of principles held on other grounds.

Further investigation of the retributive theory reveals that its supreme condemnation is that it is impossible to carry out. If punishment is to fit the crime, it is necessary to know how much guilt is involved in a particular offence. Recent research into the mind of the criminal shows how impossible it is to assess moral responsibility. Even though a lunatic and an imbecile may not be entirely exonerated from blame, few would deny that their culpability is lessened on account of their mental condition. Most people recognize that in certain cases there are extenuating circumstances which render the offender less deserving of punishment, but no yardstick has yet been discovered that will provide a reliable measurement of guilt. Only omniscience can know exactly how bad a person is.

It is equally impossible to measure the pain involved in a particular penalty. Some of the poetic punishments of the Middle Ages attempted to apply the retributive principle, as, for example, when a drunkard was ordered to walk the streets in a beer barrel, or when a fishmonger was paraded with a string of rotten fish slung over his shoulders as the penalty of selling bad fillets, or when slanderers had their tongues pierced with a hot iron; but no one knows how much suffering is involved in any sentence passed upon a guilty man. It is known, however, that members of an offender's family often suffer more than he does, and this can never be justified by an appeal to retribution.

Even if the guilt of the criminal and the suffering entailed by the penalty could be accurately measured, there would be the further difficulty of ascertaining how much suffering would be needed to cancel out a given quantity of guilt. The introduction of fines was an early attempt to expiate guilt by monetary payment. Instead of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, compensation was made in cash, the value of a tooth being fixed at 6s., rising in the time of Alfred the Great to 8s. Compensation for murder depended on whether the murdered person was a thane or a slave, since one was deemed of greater value than the other. The modern system of fixed fines and a predetermined period of imprisonment is a survival of the medieval system of making the punishment fit the crime; but no one believes that the scales of justice can be exactly balanced.

Even if magistrates possessed the necessary insight to award the punishment deserved, there remains the further problem of whether it is right to ignore the good of the offender for the sake of satisfying some abstract principle like that of justice. Human beings ought never to be treated as means to an end. Respect for personality and recognition of the dignity of man, derived from an understanding of the character of God, set limits to the damage which can be done even to those who have done wrong; and the infliction of pain for its own sake, which in other circumstances is morally wrong, cannot be made a virtue in the case of judicial punishment without playing havoc with the coherence of ethical judgements.

This leads to the final condemnation of the theory of retribution, which is that it contradicts the Christian ethic by denying the obligation of compassion and by hampering the work of reformation. In minor cases, no doubt, its bad results are negligible (indeed it can be argued that the shock of suffering some small retaliation may on occasion bring an offender to his senses and turn him

to better ways), but experience has shown that severe punishments produce moral injury. Long periods of retaliatory imprisonment lead to a degeneration of character, flogging makes a man more at enmity with society than he was before, and capital punishment is a confession that rehabilitation is not even being contemplated. To withhold forgiveness and to punish in a way that is useless or morally damaging is not only folly, it is sin.

There is, however, one element in the theory which may serve the penologist in his search for truth, and that is the assertion that penalties inflicted upon wrong-doers should look backward to the offence as well as forward to the benefit they may bestow. It is conceivable that a theory based in mere utility might be used to justify the infliction of pain or loss, not because the victim deserved it, but because someone in authority thought it would do good. Clearly this would be offensive. The idea that there must be some correspondence between punishment and guilt is needed to prevent arbitrary interference with innocent people by an authoritarian State. But apart from showing that there should be no judicial punishment without established guilt, the principle of retribution has little to offer the penologist as he seeks a rational basis for penal policy today.

DETERRENCE

In the second place, appeal has been made to the principle of deterrence. When it was seen that punishment could only be defended if it served a useful purpose, its value was found in the protection it seemed to offer to the community. Since people had to live together, their rights and privileges had to be guarded by means of laws, and the observance of these laws had to be enforced by the expedient of punishing the law-breaker.

Some dangerous individuals can be prevented from lawless acts by means of physical restraint. Society is protected from certain madmen by putting them under lock and key, and there is a category of imprisonment known as 'preventive detention'; but as far as the majority are concerned, transgressions cannot be predicted with sufficient accuracy to justify such coercion. An attempt is therefore made to influence conduct by the threat of punishment, and since a threat is useless unless it is carried out, criminals must be caught and punished.

The argument assumes that the behaviour of human beings is governed by the desire to avoid pain and gain pleasure, and that their conduct is swayed by the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. It is upon the validity of this assumption that the theory rests, and one reason why so many verbal battles are waged about penal policy is that there is no way of finding out whether the assumption is valid or not. Even when criminal statistics are compiled, and when the number of offences committed during a period when a certain mode of punishment is in operation is compared with the number committed under a different régime, there is always the possibility that the volume of crime has been influenced by factors in the social system rather than by a change in the character of the penalty inflicted.

On the basis of experience, however, it must be said that potential offenders are not usually deterred as long as there is a reasonable chance of escaping detection and avoiding punishment. When the temptation to do wrong is acute and there is no moral power to resist, the average man considers how effectively

he can cover up his tracks, and it is not easy to convince him that his sin will find him out. In spite of all the progress registered in the field of forensic science and all the modern techniques of detection, there is still a good chance of committing the so-called perfect crime.

Out of 117 cases of murder reported in 1947, only 10 murderers were executed. Some were punished by life imprisonment, some were detained in Broadmoor, and some committed suicide; but there were a number who escaped detection and conviction. For the year 1958 the Chief Constable of Stockport reported 2,343 complaints of crime, of which 1,955 were confirmed as having been committed; but only 1,116 were cleared up. In the previous year only 50 per cent. of offenders were successfully prosecuted. These figures show that the criminal has a fairly big chance of escaping conviction.

It must also be remembered that situations arise in which the satisfaction gained by the offender through his breaking of the law outweighs any pain or loss which may be imposed even if he is convicted. This is particularly true in crimes of passion, and there are undoubtedly pathological offenders who would not be deterred by the most brutal penalties. Exploration of the criminal mind has shown that the threat of punishment may actually be an incitement to crime, especially to a person with a guilt complex who is eager to endure suffering in order to atone for imagined misdeeds and to soothe his twisted conscience.

No one knows how many offenders would be found guilty of murder if there were no death penalty in this country, but it is known that no fewer than ten murders took place every month during the first half of the present century. Evidently a considerable number of people are not deterred from murder even by the death penalty.

There are prisoners who are sent back to prison over and over again. These recidivists, representing some 20 per cent. of the prison population, present a serious problem to the authorities; for even when they know that a long sentence awaits them if they persist in their law-breaking, they deliberately offend and take little trouble to avoid arrest. Obviously many criminals are not deterred by the threat of punishment.

Because of this fact, it is understandable that the advocates of the deterrent theory suggest that penalties should be made more severe in the hope that even the hardest of recidivists will eventually be intimidated. It was on these lines that men defended the brutal penalties of the eighteenth century, when little children were hanged for petty theft. This was not retribution, for justice could never demand that a hungry child's life should be taken for the stealing of a bun or a piece of meat; it was simply the deterrent principle being carried to extreme lengths in order to prove that it worked. Yet even when executions were carried out in public and thieves were thus left in no doubt whatever as to the fate which awaited them, there was no lack of candidates for the gallows, and sometimes more than forty were hanged in one day at Tyburn Tree.

The irony of the argument for deterrence is that since the temptation to commit smaller crimes is stronger than the temptation to commit more serious ones, the penalty for the former must be made even more severe than that for the latter. It was along these lines that capital punishment for petty theft was justified in the eighteenth century.

Eventually penologists saw that brutal measures were defeating their own

ends. The infliction of the extreme penalty for small offences provoked criminals to commit more serious offences on the grounds that they might as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb. Moreover, in the face of excessive cruelty the public withheld its co-operation and juries refused to convict; so that fewer persons were punished and the chances of escaping the consequences of wrong-doing were increased.

Supposing the deterrent principle, carried out in this way to its logical conclusion, were workable, there would still be the objection that it is wrong to make an example of one individual for the sake of teaching a lesson to the many. Although there is some gain to society when by the suffering of one a large number are intimidated into good behaviour, the penologist ought not to be placed in the position of having to choose between two evils—namely, hurting the individual or allowing the individual to hurt society. The interests of the one cannot be set over against the interests of the mass. To harm an individual is to harm the whole community, for when one member suffers the entire body is damaged. Conversely, to do good to the individual is to benefit society. A nation is not ultimately improved by denying the offender the right to be treated as an end in himself, for a low view of the individual implies a low view of the rest.

The example of the State has a bearing, too, on the standards of its citizens. If the State is brutal in its treatment of offenders, it will not be surprising if cruel men seek to justify their own brutality by reference to the example set by recognized authority.

It is often assumed that if brutal measures are avoided, however, the majority of would-be offenders are deterred by the fact that they may be caught and punished if they break the law, and that this is a good reason for maintaining the penal system in its present form. But the truth seems to be, that in so far as offenders exercise will-power in the commission of crime, it is the fear of detection and exposure which influences conduct, and this has little connexion with the mode of punishment in use. It is the disgrace in the eyes of their fellows which is feared rather than the pain inflicted, and it may well be, therefore, that the same results would be produced by censure and admonition.

Society cannot acquiesce in the face of lawlessness. Offences must be taken cognizance of and some kind of action taken. Moreover, even if the treatment prescribed be for the offender's benefit and designed to improve his character, the interference with his liberty, which such treatment necessitates, will doubtless have a deterrent effect on others who are tempted, and in this way the principle of deterrence is involved in any attempt to eliminate crime; but how far it is right to set out deliberately to appeal to the emotion of fear remains an open question.

REFORMATION

The third theory makes reformation of the offender the object of punishment. Let it be clear that this has nothing to do with any benevolent ministrations which some forms of punishment make possible (for example, the educative influences brought to bear on trainees in correctional establishments); the theory under discussion is that punishment itself is reformatory, that the pain or loss deliberately inflicted upon the wrong-doer has itself a curative value. This

leads to an enquiry into the ways in which hurting people can bring about their moral improvement.

It must be made clear that a man who is truly reformed behaves unselfishly out of genuine regard for his neighbour and not out of a selfish desire to avoid pain. The usual effect of a penal action, however, is to inspire fear, and as long as an offender's evil desires are kept in check only by threats and coercion, he is not reformed. What has to be considered very carefully is the point at which behaviour which is inspired by selfish motives becomes behaviour which is accepted because it is right.

The usual way of defending the theory is to appeal to the law of habit, and to argue that when the offender has abstained from crime, even from selfish motives, for a long enough period, his abstention becomes habitual, and that when the habit is formed it may well lead to a disposition which finds it worth keeping up for its own sake. Many people look back with gratitude to the fact that in their infancy they were compelled to do certain things which in later years they have continued to do of their own free-will. In an age of compulsory education not a few children have gone to school from very inferior motives, and yet they have come to like learning for its own sake. A habit once formed, even if formed for selfish reasons, may continue when those reasons cease to operate.

It is pointed out that each surrender to a temptation makes it harder to resist in the future and that each victory over temptation makes it easier to triumph. A great deal of morality is due to habit rather than to conscious and deliberate choice of a course of action in every situation. No attempt to assist people in the formation of good habits should be dismissed out of hand.

It is also submitted that punishment reforms by calling attention to the anti-social nature of the forbidden act. An essential element in reformation is repentance, and the infliction of pain is one way of impressing on the mind of the offender that he has done wrong. It is difficult to estimate the number of delinquents who have been morally improved by punishment as such, but there are certainly those who believe themselves to be in this category.

On the other hand there are many who have been embittered rather than chastened by the penalty awarded them. Instead of becoming sorry for their sins they have become sorry for themselves, and their attention has been diverted from the wrong they have done to the suffering they have been called upon to endure. The next step may well be for them to argue that, since society for its own ends is hurting them, their offence in hurting other people can be justified and excused. Much crime is a form of revenge indulged in by people with a grievance, and the grievance may be caused by a feeling that the penalty endured for some previous offence was not deserved. In whatever way punishment may affect a prisoner's future history, however, it is certain that more tears are shed in prison out of self-pity than out of genuine penitence.

It may further be argued that punishment which involves permanent disgrace and loss of self-respect may just as easily be an obstacle to reform. This applies particularly to a discharged prisoner who is unable to find employment because of the stigma which imprisonment has left upon his character. If he is also ostracized by his family, rehabilitation becomes well nigh impossible.

It will be seen that, to be reformatory, punishment must not be over severe, and certain penalties are therefore ruled out altogether. In the rest, the problem

of deciding in which case they will do good and in which case they will do harm is so acute that only a person with intimate knowledge of the offender's disposition and temperament should be asked to make the decision. In addition to having such insight, he would need to stand in such a personal relationship with the wrong-doer that he would inspire the love and respect which would make discipline acceptable. All this has prompted deep suspicion about the efficacy of punishment as such and has led to a search for alternative treatment.

Investigation into the factors involved in delinquency has inspired a more scientific approach. Whilst not discarding the doctrine of free will or overlooking in any way the fact of culpability, the criminologist has been able to distinguish a number of factors in the background of delinquent careers which encourage crime, and he has reached the conclusion that the answer to crime is to assist the offender to adjust himself to the situation against which he has rebelled. The particular factors at work vary from case to case. There may be a constitutional defect of mind or body, or the social environment may have been inimical to good behaviour, or emotional development may have been disturbed by defective family relationships. Before satisfactory treatment can be applied the need of the patient must be understood.

The clinical approach to delinquency may involve painful measures and these may well be regarded as a form of punishment; but if they are related to need, there is no reason why they should not be accepted in the same way as a surgical operation in a hospital. If the public knew that correctional techniques had been evolved for the rehabilitation of offenders, they might not clamour so eagerly for greater severity in penal institutions.

Serious difficulties have still to be overcome. One is to make the community see the shortcomings of the old ways of dealing with the problem. Another is to create public confidence in sound methods of treatment. Yet another, and the most difficult, is to persuade the law-abiding majority to have a brotherly concern for the lapsed which will make them willing to pay the price of redemption. There is need, that is to say, not only for more knowledge, but for more grace.

THE NATURE OF PRISON LIFE

Joseph A. Stratton

ALTHOUGH SOME 700,000 persons are convicted annually in this country, half for traffic offences, only one in twenty, apart from those remanded, are sent to prison, the avowed aim of which 'is to train and treat convicted prisoners, to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge and fit them to do so' (Prison Rules, 1949, No. 6). In trying to assess how far that aim is being realized, I must point out that my experience was limited to a twelve months' sentence, served in a war-time local prison. I have, therefore, no experience of such constructive and promising features as the open or regional training prisons, pre-release courses, home leave, etc. Nor can I speak of women's prisons, which have their own peculiar problems—though these are, at any rate numerically, minor ones, because for every twenty men in prison there is only one woman. Furthermore, I lacked perhaps the most vital element in a prison sentence, since I felt no social stigma, because I was a conscientious objector, a fact which, however, may allow a more objective judgement, unclouded by bitterness or resentment. Finally, I shall write only of the local prison. This is of course a limitation, but perhaps not such a serious one as might be supposed, because it is there that 88 per cent. of our prisoners go; every day, 3 out of every 4 in prison are in the local prisons (the minority in the progressive prisons are long term prisoners and so reflect a larger proportion in the 'daily average').

The 1959 White Paper, *Penal Practice in a Changing Society*, sums it up thus: the majority of prisoners 'are in local prisons . . . quite unfitted to modern conceptions of penal treatment, built, as they were, 100 years or more ago to serve the purposes of solitary confinement, treadmill hard labour and brutal oppression. They stand as a monumental denial of the principles to which we are committed.' Herein is the essential clue—our modern penal methods are gravely hindered by a century-old legacy of unsuitable buildings. Up to the period 1840-60 our county gaols merely held people awaiting trial. At the trial they were disposed of by death, even for petty offences, or transportation. Between 1831 and the Consolidation Act of 1861, the death penalty was gradually reduced until it was reserved for four offences only. At the same time Australia began to refuse to take any more convicts, and transportation ceased in 1857. It was to meet the new need of these undisposed of prisoners that our prisons arose, Pentonville being the model built in 1842, followed by 54 others before 1849. To meet the equally new need to re-educate prisoners who would return to society, cellular confinement was provided to afford the complete solitude which promotes 'that calm contemplation which brings repentance' (the Quaker Governor of Philadelphia Jail). Hence Pentonville arose, with cells but no workshops. In such buildings, designed for purposes since discredited, are housed our local prisoners, and inevitably they constitute 'a monumental denial' of the principles for which they are now supposed to stand.

The newly convicted prisoner, if a first offender, makes his acquaintance with

such a prison in 'reception', where he has a bath, dons prison garb, is interviewed by the doctor, chaplain and governor, the last of whom allocates him to a workshop or party and a cell, 13 feet by 7 feet by 9 feet. This cell has a chair, small table, bed or bed board, a small high-set barred window through which it is an offence to look, and a small electric light operated from outside. Life now settles down to an invariable and monotonous routine. His daily programme begins about 6.30 a.m., when he is unlocked, empties his dirty water and chamber pot at the recess, receives his razor blade, and is relocked to wash and shave until a simple breakfast arrives which he eats alone. At 8.45 a.m. he is again unlocked, the blade is collected, and he has 30 minutes' exercise, walking in threes and talking in a prison yard. Between then and 5 p.m. he will have another 30 minutes' exercise, a simple two-course lunch eaten alone in the cell, and two spells of work. Then he returns to his cell for the night, has a simple tea, and later cocoa, with lights out at 9 p.m. To occupy him in the cell, he has a Bible, devotional and study books if requested, a periodical if sent in, and a small cell task, probably mailbag-sewing. The week-ends will bring still more time in the cell—on Sunday he gets out only for exercise and two Church services. After the first month, he comes 'on stage' and has more time in 'association' with others—at certain meals for instance.

His first concern will be food—especially dinner, which is the only unknown variant in any day. Though his diet is adequate, he will probably feel hungry. On some occasions some of his food may be stolen on the way from the kitchen, and this thieving will not help his moral growth! Still less do the arrangements made for clothing and cleanliness. No effort beyond a rough and ready fitting of his jacket and trousers will probably be made to see that anything fits, either in reception or at the weekly bath parade when he changes shirt, underclothes and socks. Ill-fitting clothes not assisting one's self-respect, we conscientious objectors, by judicious visits to the toilets and surreptitious swapping of garments, could turn out one of our number who was having a visit, as a reasonably well dressed man—by prison standards. But a pacifist in prison, being part of a group with other pacifists, has resources that the ordinary prisoner does not possess. Some progress has recently been made, according to the Prison Commission Report of 1958, by issuing a new blue battledress uniform, though how far the local prison with its rapidly changing population can fit out its inmates reasonably and respectably remains to be seen. Clothes can greatly help or damage a man's self-respect, as the father knew who said, 'Bring forth the best robe and put it on him,' and ill-fitting, carelessly issued prison clothing is a great hindrance.

The problem of personal cleanliness is indicated by two proverbs we coined: 'Bath waters run ankle deep' and 'Cleanliness is next to impossible'. Hot water is scarce and usually unobtainable, hence we shaved weekly, though in part this was due to the war-time shortage of blades. Soap was scarce and some recent inmates allege it is so still. Worst of all were the recesses where men 'slop out' their dirty water and chamber pots. One recess with its out-of-date sanitation serves at least 22 men—possibly 66. Often blocked up and evil smelling, they are vividly remembered by most. Moreover, for the first month, the prisoner is locked in his cell from 5 p.m. to 6.30 a.m., and only in theory can he ring to be let out to the recess. Wartime diet gave all of us an attack of 'prison diarrhoea'

and this was dreaded because of those long hours when a chamber pot was all one had—and one slept with it all night. Fortunately that complaint is less common now. But ill-fitting clothing and the battle for cleanliness still make it difficult to maintain one's self-respect.

For the first month about eighteen hours are spent daily alone in the cell and the working week will average twenty-two hours. (During the war, one spent over twenty hours in the cell every day for three months.) Workshops came as an afterthought and suffer accordingly, and the shortage of work is continual, partly because of Trade Union fears. These are illogically circumvented by getting orders from Government Departments. Hence the basic industry is mailbag-making, which, with domestic services, absorbs half the prison labour force. As work is insufficient, sewing machines are kept idle so as to make the limited work last out. Consequently work is done badly, because it is seen to be largely without purpose. Since many go to prison because of a basic immaturity that prevents their meeting life's demands, including the necessity of work, the damaging effect can be imagined as men become, in the words of a Departmental Committee, 'adept at wasting time unobtrusively'.

'Society' confronts the prisoner primarily in the person of the prison officer or warden. Prison Rules, 1949, No. 29, says, 'In the control of prisoners, officers shall seek to influence them by their example and leadership and enlist their willing co-operation', but except in some smaller local prisons where the Norwich System has been introduced,¹ as Winifred Elkin says (*The English Penal System*, p.215) they 'are not expected or even allowed to build up any personal relationships with the prisoners'. Nor is their example, with some honourable exceptions, always the best, especially in language. Perhaps most significant is prisoner's slang for warden, 'screw', because he 'screws you up in your peter' or locks you up in your cell—an unconsciously accurate description of a relationship neither constructive nor redemptive. Shortage of staff, however, makes any other largely impossible.

The prison rules are hung up in every cell, but not all are listed and this makes for a background of insecurity which is not helpful. Everyone perforce breaks them, and yet most still earn full remission 'for good conduct', which is merely 'the virtue of not being found out'—hardly good training for the embryo criminal.

Foremost on the credit side is the work of the chaplains, who into this atmosphere can and do bring a respect for human dignity, a word of love, compassion and hope, and perhaps most of all valuable in the cell, can make a man feel that he matters after all. Both Anglican and Methodist Chaplains were very good friends to me. Then there are letters (one in and one out per fortnight) and the monthly thirty-minute visit. It is unfortunate that letters, allegedly because of censorship difficulties, are so few, and that visits are sometimes conducted through a grill, because this cutting off of a man does not equip him to return to society. Of the undoubtedly value of classes, correspondence courses, entertainments and even TV which some prisons have, I can say nothing as I knew none of them because of war conditions, though the educational programme can be of little use to the short-sentence man.

We may therefore say that a prisoner's self-respect, an invaluable ally in the struggle for the good life, is likely to be damaged in a local prison. I was told

that one's body is signed for on entry to the prison and certainly one soon feels that is all one is. An ill-clad cipher in an amorphous group, sometimes shouted at or cursed, always being counted ('Forty-seven, all correct, Sir,' is the reflex cry of any officer on spotting a superior), the prisoner lives in an unnatural community ('a monastery of men unwilling to be monks' as Sir Alexander Paterson called it), where values are distorted, where work, initiative and responsibility are at a discount, and where cleanliness is difficult and his self-respect is sapped. Heckstall-Smith, in *Eighteen Months*, writes: 'It is necessary to live in such an atmosphere to appreciate its awful futility. . . . Everything is without purpose. . . . This strange grey, drab community exists only to kill time and for no other reason.' As a result, one is driven to the conclusion that a local prison in fact *unfits* men to re-enter responsible, mature society.

For the Christian it can be different; the desert of Wormwood Scrubs blossomed for me like the rose and I thank God for my stay there, but it was not the Scrubs, but the Lord in spite of the Scrubs, who gave the blossoms.

One can only conclude that the sooner these old buildings can be modernized, if not replaced, the better for the self-respect of the inmates. Secondly, we should avoid sending anyone to prison where alternative methods are available—for with less overcrowding, and a consequent better staff/prisoner ratio, the more hopeful experiments like the open prison and the Norwich System, all of which demand a more generous staffing, could be expanded. This could be done. About 70 per cent. of those who are imprisoned have sentences that with remission amount to 4 months or less, which is of little use for training purposes. A constructive relationship with a probation officer might pay far better dividends than the present futility of the local prison. Less defensible is the fact that 8–10,000 are annually remanded in prison who are *not* subsequently sentenced to imprisonment. If we could avoid sending the approximately 30,000 short-term prisoners and remands to prison, not only would it cut the daily average by about 5,000 and so ease the overcrowding which in turn would enable the modernization programme to be carried out, but also the staff freed from these 30,000 receptions and discharges, and all the work and interviews involved in each, could be used for more constructive relationships. Already the Maintenance Orders Act of 1958 will remove 4,000 annually from prison, and the First Offenders Act of 1958 ought to prevent unnecessary prison committals. Unfortunately these gains are in part negated by the longer sentences under the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 and the increase in crime.

We must agree with the White Paper that the local prisons to which 88 per cent. of our prisoners go are not fulfilling their function. It is true that three out of every four first offenders sent to prison never return, but this must be despite the local prison not because of it. However, given a more extensive building and modernization programme and the prevention of unnecessary committals, it should be possible to extend and improve the present classification of prisoners, which in turn would have more reality as the system of open and training prisons was extended and the Norwich System was introduced to all local prisons. The result would be that the aims of the Norwich System and of the best penal thinking would be realized as prisoners became persons, not ciphers, having a more constructive relationship with the staff, more responsibility for their own affairs, more opportunity to exercise initiative together, and

employed in the forty-hour working week of the open and regional training prisons. Then our local prisons, like the best prisons we have, would no longer be 'a monumental denial of the principles to which we are committed' but achieve the redemptive purpose of establishing 'in the prisoners the will to lead a good and useful life and fit them to do so'.

¹ Features of the Norwich System are the building up of a more constructive relationship between prisoners and staff by allocating a small number of men to individual officers who can thus get to know them better, and by giving as far as possible some responsibility to the prisoners for their own affairs. The results appear to be most encouraging, and one Governor reports in the Prison Commission Report, 1958: 'Prisoners are gradually beginning to consider themselves, and be considered as human beings who are members of what one fondly hopes is a moderately well-conducted, well-behaved community, in whose well-being they all can and should help' (Appendix 1, p.114).

THE AFTER-CARE OF DISCHARGED PRISONERS

Merfyn Turner

EVERY MAN who is committed to prison should be liable to compulsory after-care. Only then are we likely to achieve the sort of after-care service which reflects the Christian belief in the sanctity of life and the dignity of every human being.

Man has always been more disposed to punish anti-social behaviour than to understand it. Excommunication, and deprivation of life and liberty are basic expressions of the community's disapproval of nonconforming behaviour. Over the course of the centuries, the Church has applied these sanctions as enthusiastically as the State. Communities require conformity with their norms and standards. Failure is looked upon as something wilful and deliberate. The punishment that follows is then considered just, merited, and impersonal. It has a strong retributive element: 'We told you what would happen to you if you broke the rules. . . .' It is also hoped that it will deter.

It is this near-neurotic preoccupation with punishment, based as it is on an unwillingness to accept deviant behaviour as anything but an expression of the will to evil, that has contributed more, perhaps, than any other single factor to the deplorable situation in which we find ourselves today. Prisons are full to overflowing. Daily discharges are higher than ever before in the country's

history. The after-care service is the least developed of the social services. The conscience of the community is at least two hundred years late in its stirrings.

It is ironic, perhaps, that sheer expediency is now demanding a new approach to the whole problem of crime and punishment, where it might have been expected to come from a Christian understanding of human behaviour. With the prison population on the increase and the cost of building new prisons prohibitive, those who send men to prison as well as those whose job it is to keep them there are taking a second look at the criminal, and searching for alternatives to imprisonment in the first instance, and alternative forms of imprisonment in the second. Increased use of probation and discharge, and an increasing tendency to fine, illustrate the growing desire of the courts to limit imprisonment. Camps, open prisons, hostels, and a variety of innovations within the prisons, indicate the changing attitudes within the prison service. But for their success they presuppose in the community at large a readiness to accept the idea that human behaviour is not merely a matter of right and wrong, of good and evil and the individual will, but that the human personality is shaped and conditioned by an infinite variety of factors which make nonsense of the principle of fitting the punishment to the crime. More recently the talk has come to be of fitting the punishment to the punished. Ultimately, punishment as we know it will give way to a system which aims at understanding anti-social behaviour, and at removing or modifying the problems that precipitate it.

Nowhere is the harmful effect of the punitive approach to delinquent behaviour so clearly seen as in the field of after-care. It was not until 1792 that Parliament recognized the needs of prisoners on discharge, and the nineteenth century had dawned before the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies were being formed. It was only eighty years ago that the Prison Commission took over the responsibility for local prisons. But even then no real thought was given to after-care until the appointment of the Gladstone Commission in 1894. The conception of after-care was not extended to convict prisons until 1910. It was left to the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 to form a Central After-Care Association, which aimed, amongst other things, at unifying the work that was already being done by voluntary societies. This unification has been described as an excellent example of the intricate partnership between voluntary and statutory bodies towards which English people empirically feel their way. It has also been less charitably described as a sleeping partnership, smouldering like flax, and never threatening to burst into flame.

More recently there have been indications that consciences are stirring, that the community is becoming concerned about what happens to a man when he leaves prison. The Central After-Care Association has recently appointed a new director. Trained welfare officers are being appointed to the prison service. The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, concentrating more on the field outside the prisons, are showing a new understanding of the meaning of after-care. But ignorance about what happens to a prisoner on discharge prevents greater progress being made. The belief is still widely held that all men are looked after on discharge by some society or other, and prisoners still tend to be regarded as self-directing people who can settle to a useful life if they choose it.

All men in prison are interviewed before their discharge, and unless they

refuse it, are given help on release. Men serving sentences of preventive detention, corrective training, and imprisonment longer than three years are the responsibility of the C.A.C.A. Young prisoners are cared for by the Borstal division of the association. Those serving sentences of imprisonment are under no obligation to maintain contact with the C.A.C.A.

In London the supervision and after-care of discharged prisoners who are the responsibility of the Central Association is done chiefly through its own Associates. Outside London, it is done through the Probation Service. While it is readily conceded that probably no social workers are better qualified to help the discharged prisoner, probation officers complain that they are overworked, and can ill spare the time and effort that a discharged prisoner demands. Moreover, when heavy case-loads make it difficult for probation officers to attend to all their cases adequately, causing them to select those who offer the best hope of success under probation, the claims of the discharged prisoner will not rate highly, for he is not a probation case in the usual sense of the term, and might not be considered suitable if he were. His own attitude to this form of after-care is also relevant. A man who has been discharged from a sentence of ten or twelve years' preventive detention is not likely to respond well to the prospect of reporting regularly to a probation officer. Clearly, any after-care service should have its own officers, though they could be probation officers seconded for a period to the after-care service. Nothing less can hope to begin to tackle the discharged prisoners' problems.

More than 95 per cent. of men in prison are serving sentences of three years and under. Their after-care, which is voluntarily accepted, falls on the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. During 1958, the 36 branches of the D.P.A.S. were required to cope with 38,000 discharges, a task which the community should not expect them to undertake, and which they could hardly execute above the level of temporary aid on discharge, which is not after-care in any sense of the term.

Originally the D.P.A.S. set out only to offer aid on discharge. But in recent years there has been a change in both attitude towards the needs of prisoners and conception of the job they should be doing. Some Societies have their Visitors who make visits to prisoners' families at the request of the prisoner. Some of the Societies' welfare officers have recently, and with success, developed relationships with employers so that men on discharge have been assured of employment. The Ministry of Labour officer who visits prisons to interview men before their discharge rarely does more than prepare the local Employment Exchange for the arrival of the applicant. There is no guarantee that he will be sent to a job. As a result of negotiations with the National Assistance Board, week-end discharges may now receive their assistance grants before they leave the prison. On the recommendation of the D.P.A.S. Case Committee, a prisoner may be paid a lodging allowance even though he has not at the time of applying been able to find a room. This is not to say that the situation is entirely satisfactory, and that some at least of the prisoners' grievances are not genuine. But the policy of the Assistance Board towards discharged prisoners is an enlightened one. What is needed is a new-found confidence by prisoners towards the Aid Society, which can only arise when the Aid Society completely abandons any suggestion of first-aid work, and instead

applies itself to real after-care. With the appointment of trained welfare workers, and the gradual withdrawal of the D.P.A.S. officers into the field outside prison, there are indications that after-care work may begin to earn a respect on both sides of the wall that it has not so far achieved throughout its history.

That respect has been lacking, perhaps, because there has always been a tendency to diagnose the problems of offenders superficially. We have been crying 'Peace, peace, when there is no peace'. Behaviour has been interpreted in terms of will, reward and punishment, heaven and hell. Man is born with a conscience, which is his absolute guide. Sin, guilt, repentance, salvation have been corner-stones of rehabilitative work. Applied in ignorance, they have helped only to bring the work of after-care into ridicule, and the Church into disrepute.

In recent years, however, advance has been made in understanding behaviour. There is no longer such certainty about motivation. Personal responsibility is no longer regarded as absolute, although there is still a regrettable tendency to lecture and admonish. The unhappy man who is imprisoned for exposing himself is still told he should be ashamed of himself, and that he must learn through punishment (imprisonment) that he must not repeat his abnormal behaviour.

Nevertheless, it is no longer customary to treat offenders as completely self-directing persons. It is accepted that they have problems and need help. But that help, generous as it so very often is, seldom goes further than the man's material needs. To be able to send a man out of prison respectably dressed, with lodgings to go to if he is homeless, and with a job, and money to tide him over till his first pay-day, is still too often regarded as the high peak of enlightened after-care. In fact, however, all this achieves is preparation for an attack on the man's real problems.

The introduction of trained social workers into the prison service suggests a desire to make this attack. But already there is a danger that their scope may be restricted by the numbers which the social workers are required to cope with. In one London prison, for example, with a population of more than eleven hundred men, some five hundred of whom may be homeless, there are two trained social workers. The Welfare officer of the local D.P.A.S. confines himself to the field outside the prison, particularly the field of employment. The Roman Catholic D.P.A.S. restricts its activities to men of its own religious denomination.

Some prisoners may refuse help. Others may not seem to present a great problem. They may have a family to return to, and good prospects of employment. But in a recidivist prison such men are exceptions. Seventy per cent. are unskilled or semi-skilled, with a poor work record, and are below average intelligence. Some are mentally ill, and unemployable, who should never have been sent to prison in the first place. Others are low-grade defectives, sometimes illiterate. The majority are rootless, friendless, homeless inadequates, who present a front of physical maturity, but emotionally are as children. No amount of advice to stop their nonsense, pull their socks up, and learn their lesson can have the slightest bearing on their behaviour. They have not, as they are frequently accused of having done, thrown away the chances the community has given them. They have been either unable to use those chances, or too inadequately equipped to make full use of them. They are social cripples whose

handicap, and deformity, and maladjustment is every whit as incapacitating as a withered leg. Part of the trouble is that their handicap is not readily recognized for what it is, or even seen to exist.

For the homeless persistent offender, the prospect on discharge from prison frequently offers nothing better than a letter to the Labour Exchange and the Assistance Board, a few shillings 'to help you over till you get your N.A.B. grant', and lodging in a common lodging-house, often for conscience sake called a hostel. Such hostels are abnormal congregations of the community's discards and misfits, places least suited to the needs of the discharged prisoner who wants to go straight; for resettlement is primarily a matter of belonging and feeling wanted. Working for a living, for many a monotonous and uninspiring necessity, can have no purpose without belonging. There is no great advantage in buying a shirt if there is no one to approve the deed. Community life is regulated by approval and disapproval more than by the notion of right and wrong. Real after-care must aim at placing the discharged prisoner in a group which approves and commends behaviour that is generally acceptable, and disapproves of deviations. The offender will then attempt, and with help succeed, in living in the way his group lives. Their norms and standards will become his, because what he does matters to others, and so helps to give him purpose in living. So far as homeless offenders are concerned, the community has rarely made a fully Christian attempt to integrate them into their own way of life. They will help, with money and clothes and employment. They will find them lodgings—in lodging houses. But they will rarely share their life with them. And that is what the Christian is exhorted to do.

The Christian conception of after-care, then, is to give the offender the chance of living as others do, in an environment that encourages Christian living and accepts him as part of it. It implies more than goodness. It calls for understanding, and wisdom, and a sheer, continuous love which is not broken by backsliding and failure. In essentials it is a sharing of life itself.

There is in London at present a small home where an attempt is made to put these principles into practice. In five years more than a hundred and seventy discharged prisoners have lived at Norman House, almost all with more than one prison sentence in their criminal record, and with a variety of offences that includes most of those in the statute book. Only one had a home to which he could return, and he was prevented from doing so by the advice of his psychiatrists. Only one man has returned to prison while he has been living at the House. It is clear that the life that is shared at Norman House makes criminal behaviour sociologically and psychologically superfluous. Living begins to have meaning and purpose, because a man feels he belongs in a family, and he has something to give as well as to share.

One Norman House achieves but little statistically. There is need for a hundred others, each subscribing to the same principles of after-care, but interpreting them with a liberal attitude. They would be a practical expression of the concern of the community for the well-being of the discharged prisoner. Argument and discussion never converted anybody to anything. The offenders' attitudes towards the community are basic. They show an externalizing of aggression, an attempt to shift the responsibility for personal and social failure to the community. The only factor that can change those attitudes is a practical

expression of all the community claims to want to do. Here, perhaps, lies the real opportunity of the Church. It could well be the Church in the modern setting. The four walls of the church are often something other than the temple of God. They are the Christians' security from the world without and an escape from their Christian responsibilities; they stand for something far removed from the late William Temple's dictum that 'The Church is the only organization that exists solely for the benefit of non-members'.

The modern scene, therefore, calls for courageous thinking and courageous action. All prisoners should be liable to after-care. It should be comprehensive, voluntary and compulsory. Prisoners' sentences should be related to their particular needs. For the homeless there should be residential after-care, and for those with ties and roots there should be a system of supervision along the lines of probation. A bold system of parole should be developed, with the sanction of return to prison to complete the sentence where the offender was refusing to respond. No man should be released from prison without sufficient money to meet his needs for the first week. His after-care supervisor should have the authority to renew his grant until the offender is able to support himself. National Assistance grants should be made payable to the prisoner before he leaves the prison. The routine mechanics of resettlement should be disposed of, so that real after-care can begin when the man is free.

The solution of the crime problem may not lie in after-care, but a bold and comprehensive system of after-care will go a long way towards meeting it. It will be expensive, as crime is expensive. It will need financial support from the State on a scale never before envisaged, and it should also tax the generosity of the public. It will one day be achieved, not because a mounting prison population requires it, but simply because the Christian conscience demands it; for while there is a single man in prison, the Christian cannot consider himself free.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Kenneth G. Greet

THE GOVERNMENT'S Homicide Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on 7th November 1956. It was passed unchanged through all its stages in the Commons and the Lords, and received the Royal Assent on 21st March 1957. The second part of the Act preserves the death penalty for certain kinds of murder, and abolishes it for all other kinds. There are now five types of capital murder and they may be listed as follows:

- (a) Any murder done in course or furtherance of a theft.
- (b) Any murder by shooting or by causing an explosion.
- (c) Any murder done in the course or for the purpose of resisting or avoiding or preventing a lawful arrest, or of effecting or assisting an escape or rescue from legal custody.
- (d) Any murder of a police officer acting in the execution of his duty or of a person assisting a police officer so acting.
- (e) In the case of a person who was a prisoner at the time when he did or was a party to the murder, any murder of a prison officer acting in the execution of his duty or of a person assisting a prison officer so acting.

The Act also retains the death penalty for a repetition of the crime of murder.

These provisions have been fiercely assailed. Quite obviously the Act cannot but be regarded as wrong by abolitionists who are opposed to the retention of hanging for any type of murder. But there have also been criticisms from others who believe the capital murder provisions to be full of ridiculous anomalies. The following are examples of the anomalies to which the critics refer:

If a man breaks and enters a house in order to steal, and murders someone during the course of his theft, he may be hanged; if, however, a man breaks and enters a house in order to rape, and murders someone, he may not be hanged. If a man breaks and enters a house in order to attack someone and murders his victim, he cannot be hanged unless the murder was committed by shooting; if a man breaks and enters a house in order to poison someone, and succeeds, he cannot be hanged.

Major Gwilym Lloyd George, who was Home Secretary when the Bill became law, said in the House of Commons, 'We have selected the capital categories so that they cover the forms of murder most inimical to the public peace and most likely to be prevented by the deterrent effect of the death penalty'. The exclusion of rapists is justified on the ground that rape is an offence of sudden impulse; people who commit murder in the course of rape are not infrequently mentally abnormal, and are therefore less likely to be deterred by the thought of the death penalty than a normal person. As for the poisoner, he is excluded on the ground that this kind of murder is rare, and constitutes no serious threat to law and order. It should, however, be noted that one of the reasons given for excluding the rapist is that his crime is unpremeditated; yet the poisoner is also excluded though his crime is essentially premeditated.

A full exposition of the Act and its inconsistencies would take a great deal of space. Most people will find considerable difficulty in making sense of some of its provisions. My own judgement is that the second part of the Act should be repealed. Its provisions cannot add to the credit of English criminal law and have been the subject of adverse comment in other countries which take, in these matters, a more enlightened attitude.

If, then, the Homicide Act is unsatisfactory, what should be done? Should it be replaced by some measure more in line with previous legislation, or should the capital sentence be entirely abolished? In 1948 the House of Commons registered a majority vote in favour of suspending the death penalty for five years. A similar judgement has been expressed in other responsible assemblies. A resolution approving total abolition was carried in the Methodist Conference in 1956 by an overwhelming majority. Yet it remains true that a not inconsiderable number of people hold a contrary view. It is important that their arguments should be considered with the greatest care.

Before examining some of the main points in the retentionist argument, it may be as well to note one matter upon which all right-thinking people agree. They would all *like* to see capital punishment abolished, and this for a number of reasons. The first is that death by hanging is a revolting business. Sir Ernest Gowers, who was Chairman of the Royal Commission on the subject set up in 1949, wrote a book entitled *A Life for a Life?* In the first chapter of that book he gives an account of the way in which the condemned murderer is hanged, and of some of the accompanying factors. He quotes some of the answers to questions submitted to Pierrepont, the executioner, when he appeared before the Royal Commission. Pierrepont, who is the licensee of a public house, has conducted hundreds of executions. He may be regarded as an expert, and he described with cold detachment the method of tying the knot and the other grisly accompaniments of the art of breaking a man's neck. It is a singularly unpleasant subject.

A further reflection that must surely prove nauseating to many people is that there is never any lack of candidates for the post of public executioner, although the fees are, to put it mildly, on a modest scale. The hangman is paid £10 per case plus expenses.

A third consideration is the effect of executions upon the public, and upon the staff and inmates of the prisons where they are conducted. Much has been written about this, and there is no need to enlarge on the point.

Fourthly, there is the appalling thought that many of those hanged have had parents, wives, children and friends who loved them and had to endure dreadful agony. It is true that the very fact that their loved one has committed murder must cause them immense suffering. It is equally true that the family of the murdered person has to endure torture of the mind and heart. These facts, however, do not remove the desire of all sensitive people to rid the family of the murderer of the suffering imposed upon them by the fact that their loved one is hanged.

One other fact must weigh with all right-thinking people in making them want to be rid of capital punishment. There is the real possibility of putting an innocent man to death.

In spite of all this, some good and responsible people find themselves unable

to advocate the abolition of the death penalty. The grounds of their objection to abolition may be set forth under five heads.

1. *They believe that capital punishment increases public abhorrence of murder*

It is very doubtful if this is so. There are strong reasons for maintaining, on the contrary, that the fact that the murderer may be hanged increases the morbid fascination which the whole business has for very many people. The scenes outside the prison gates when an execution takes place confirm this judgement. It is also apparent from the utterances of some murderers that the possibility of standing on the gallows acted as a positive incitement to them to commit the crime. This will sound ridiculous only to those who are unaware of the pathological mentality of many murderers.

2. *They contend that public opinion demands the retention of hanging*

Public opinion on a matter of this sort is, of course, notoriously difficult to determine. The subject is one that profoundly affects human emotions. A particular case may sway public sentiment overnight. In 1948, when the question was debated in both Houses of Parliament, many members spoke as if they were firmly persuaded that the country was overwhelmingly against suspending the death penalty, and a poll conducted at that time by the *Daily Telegraph* showed 69 per cent. in favour of retention and 15 per cent. on the other side. But when in 1955 the *Daily Mirror* put to its readers the question 'Should hanging be abolished in Great Britain?' two to one answered in favour of abolition. Of course, only 37,000 readers sent in replies, and it is possible that the result of the enquiry reflects a greater keenness on the part of abolitionists to make their views known than is shown among those who take the contrary view. There can, however, be little doubt that public opinion has been moving towards the idea of abolition, especially where the whole matter has received careful consideration. Whilst it is true that Parliament cannot legislate far in advance of public opinion, it has a responsibility to lead the country on important questions.

3. *They maintain that the time is inopportune to consider abolishing the death penalty*

It is only fair to observe that for some people the time never will be opportune, for if crimes of violence are increasing they will resist the removal of what they regard as a unique deterrent, and if crimes of violence are decreasing they will assert that this is proof of the effectiveness of the deterrent. It is also relevant to point out that this self-same argument was used in the days when enlightened people were seeking to revise the law which prescribed the death penalty for theft. This is not really a weighty argument; the more important question concerns the deterrent effect of hanging, and we shall consider that in a moment.

4. *They claim that there is no satisfactory alternative to hanging*

This is a claim which cannot stand before the facts. To begin with, almost all convicted murderers in this country are sent to prison. As a class they prove to be very satisfactory prisoners. Of the 174 murderers released from prison between 1928 and 1948 only one was guilty of repeating the crime, and it was clearly shown that he was insane. When this is pointed out, those who favour the retention of capital punishment usually reply by saying that hanging is

really more merciful than life imprisonment, which is a most terrible penalty to exact of any man. The answer to this must surely be that if this is so, then life imprisonment should constitute a more effective deterrent. In fact, of course, a 'life sentence' averages nine years and the evidence relating to successful rehabilitation is very impressive.

5. *They are convinced that capital punishment is a unique deterrent*

Because this is an important point in the case of retention, it must be examined carefully. First, it must be said that it cannot be so for the insane (of 4,842 murders between 1900 and 1949, 1,712 of the murderers committed suicide and 1,400 were shown to be insane; that is to say, murder is committed mainly by people who are mentally unbalanced). The second fact to notice is that hanging can be no deterrent for the man who kills in a fit of passion, as many do. At the time of the crime the processes of rational thinking are not in operation. What of those who are not covered by either of the foregoing descriptions? It is of great importance to note that the many countries which have abolished the death penalty report no increase in the murder rate. Admittedly this does not prove that the thought of hanging never deters the would-be murderer; there may have been instances where it has, and in the nature of the case we shall rarely if ever know about such instances, for normally we only hear about those who have not been deterred. But the evidence from abolitionist countries does show clearly that there is no foundation for the fear that abolition leads to a great increase in homicidal crime. Those who contend that it would be different in this country presumably believe that the British people are by nature more given to violence than those of other nations like Austria, Denmark, Iceland and Italy. Most of us would want to resist such a conclusion.

There is, I submit, no satisfactory case for the retention of capital punishment, and the arguments of the retentionists can be met and defeated. But because the whole discussion raises moral and religious as well as legal questions, our consideration must not close without reference to the Christian faith.

For those Christians who are by conviction pacifists, the Christian case against capital punishment is clear enough. But there are very many Christians who, while unable to accept the pacifist position, oppose hanging because of convictions which they hold about the purpose of our penal system. They recognize that there are various elements in our conception of punishment by the State. There is the element of retributive justice, the element of deterrence, and the element of reformation. I have submitted that the argument about capital punishment as a deterrent cannot stand. The real conflict is between those who, in their judgement on the purpose of our penal system, lean in the direction of regarding its primary concern to be retributive justice, and those who regard it to be reformation. The former tend to support the retention of hanging; the latter to argue for abolition, since, clearly, whatever else the execution of a murderer may do, it cannot reform the man himself.

There can be no doubt that the whole trend of penal reform has been to emphasize the importance and the possibility of reformation. It should be recognized that there are great difficulties in attempting to devise a system which will punish, deter and reform simultaneously. Those difficulties are both practical and philosophical, and the authors of the Government White Paper,

Penal Practice in a Changing Society, were quite right to emphasize the need for a fundamental re-examination of the philosophy of penal practice. It is, however, interesting to note how large a part has been played by Christians in the penal reform movement from the days of John Howard onwards. The increasing emphasis on the primacy of reform is in large measure the result of belief in a Christian gospel which calls us to believe in the possibility of redemption for every man, since Christ died for all. The retention of capital punishment is not only an ugly anachronism; it is a denial of that central and essential Christian truth.

THE CONCEPT OF RESPONSIBILITY

J. Eric Fenn

SO MUCH MORAL obliquity has recently been attributed to the social environment and the psychological perversions traceable to wrong human relationships that the discussion of moral responsibility has become both unpopular and complicated. Three questions normally remain unanswered in this area: What do we mean by responsibility? Can the criminal be regarded as 'responsible for his actions'? and, How far am I responsible for the misdeeds of others? In trying to write about these basic questions, I am conscious that they have been given new 'existential' reality by the news bulletins which afflicted the ear over Christmas: the long tally of murders, the revival of anti-Jewish activity both in Germany and in our own country, and the complex system of international problems in which good and bad seem so inextricably mixed. How far can such things be laid at the door of individuals and how far are they social phenomena?

The problem of crime is the problem of man's responsibility in community. I use the word 'man' rather than 'individual' because in the Christian view the individual must be regarded as an anomaly, or even as an abstraction. The very notion of an individual in anything like the modern sense of the word—that is, the notion of an isolated, self-sufficient human being—is foreign to the Old Testament and to the New. The heart of the Christian revelation is not a communication from God to the individual so much as the cure for the atomism of human life; for the Gospel of God's love and grace in Jesus Christ at once

need
is,
as
The
lt of
re-
ital
and
cial
man
oth
in
as
of
ey
the
ity
er-
far
cial
ty.
he
ry
is,
old
a
m
ce

relates man to God and to his fellows in a new community which has a dynamic relation to the 'old' community. There is a profound sense in which *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, though dangerous, is literally true: we are saved *into* the new community which is the Church of God in order that we may bring the knowledge of that redemption to those who still live in the old community of secular society.

The Christian faith, therefore, is not far removed from the modern view that the community is of very great importance in the making of the human person. It is, indeed, arguable that the root evil in modern western life is precisely the creation of the individual out of the person, precisely that view of society which regards it as a mere agglomeration of otherwise isolated individuals, brought together like billiard balls in a bag, only related to one another by contiguity. And this is a great evil because it is an escape from responsibility into a false independence; it means seeing the ultimate good of mankind as the widening of the area in which what a man does is his own concern, without reference to those inherent bonds which link him to his fellows. It is, in effect, the acceptance as final of the question of the first murderer, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'

The fact is—as we can see in the light of Christian faith—that we are born into a social environment which is already distorted in its basic values, and the influence of which upon us is inevitably distorting. As Dr Herbert Farmer says, in discussing the conception of Original Sin in his book *Men and God*, sin is at least original in the sense that it meets every man 'at his point of origin'. And this does not apply only to those who become criminals or neurotics; to a greater or less degree we all share, as human beings, in this distortion of our nature; we are part of a community of sinners, and we all of us have cause, as we regard the notorious evil-doer, to say, 'There, but for the grace of God, go I.' And yet there is a difference between those who succumb to the temptations which society prepares for them and those who do not—or perhaps we ought rather to say that there is a difference between the kind of temptations we succumb to. For we may think that we are better than we are because we do not see that spiritual pride and polite forms of cruelty are just as bad as the megalomania which drives a man to crude sadism, and may be a lot worse. It may well be ultimately a great deal worse for the parson to preach things he does not believe (because if he did not he would lose his job) than for a man to take what does not belong to him (because if he did not he would not be able to buy himself a meal). Yet the latter is a punishable offence and the former is merely an unconfessed sin.

What then is the responsibility of man in society? Is there any residual moral responsibility which could justify punishment?

Here we reach the heart of the matter, and there are two somewhat different aspects of the problem: the obligation on the confessing Christian and the obligation on the general citizen, in a non-Christian or semi-Christian society.

The obligation which lies on the Christian man, the member of the Church of Christ, is fairly plain. In so far as a man has become aware of the love and mercy and righteousness of God through the message of the Gospel, he is pledged to order his own life according to the law of love and he is in touch with the power by which this can be done. Of course he is not perfect and he has much to learn, and that is the content of the Christian life and discipline right

up to the moment of death; but his responsibility is plain: it is to love God and his neighbours as himself, and to bring the whole of life under this obedience. His immediate circle he can love directly; but in social relationships (as William Temple used to insist) the law of love issues in the search for justice, for that is the only way in which we can 'love our neighbour as ourselves' in such relationships. In Christian existence the individual—created and distorted by our western society—is becoming a person, by virtue of his relationship to other persons for all of whom he admits in Christ his responsibility. And this can never rightly be left as a private obligation; for what is true for the Christian is, just because it is a truth of divine revelation, true for all. We cannot as Christians isolate ourselves from the rest of mankind.

What, then, of those outside the Christian Church? What of the generality of men in their secular setting? Are they simply functions of that society, or have they still, when all is allowed for the social setting of their lives and its effect on their decisions and potentialities, some freedom of choice and, therefore, moral responsibility for their actions? The general Christian answer is undeniably that they have such moral responsibility, that mankind is neither a collection of automata nor a set of imbeciles. None is absolutely cut off from the grace of God and (*pace* certain forms of Calvinism) none is totally depraved. Men, as men, remain beings capable of response to God and beings within the circle of His gracious dealings with humanity. Though sin is a general disorder of human nature, each man is responsible for his own sins; he has some area of choice within which he can decide whether to add to the evil in the world or to take away from it. And, so far as I understand the methods of psychiatric treatment, here the Christian stands on common ground with the psychologist. Expert analysis may reveal layer after layer of conditioning factors which control the actions of the patient, most if not all due to environmental influences; but there comes a point at which the patient must exert himself in responsibility if he is to be cured; he must recover responsibility for his own life and make his own decisions. And it may well be that the great gain from modern psychological study lies in enabling us much more truly to discern where this residual freedom lies and what is its scope. In that case, the general theological account of human responsibility needs to be supplemented by scientific knowledge if the person is to be cured. Yet although we may have been too generalized in our demand for repentance, too little aware of the range over which the man's life is really conditioned and in which he is not able to respond as we should like him to, it remains true that to deal either with crime or with psychosis requires in criminal or patient the recovery of responsibility. And this responsibility is primarily a recognition of the claims of other persons upon us, an admission that in trying to live to ourselves alone we have contravened a fundamental law of human nature. Ultimately, on a religious interpretation of life, this means the admission of sin as a reality and of repentance as a necessity for the recovery of sanity and health. And on this view the ultimate responsibility upon every man is a responsibility to God for our relations with our fellow-men. It is at least dubious whether there can be any sense of absolute responsibility without this religious reverence and interpretation, although this will be hotly disputed by the Humanist.

I have already hinted that one great lack in our western way of life is due to

the weakening, almost to extinction, of any real sense of solidarity with one another, and that this is a very important element in the Christian way of life. But to take this solidarity seriously has a profound effect upon our attitude towards criminals. The Christian religion may be almost said to begin with the admission of solidarity with all men in sin, and to arise from the discovery that we are also knit with our fellow-men in the offer of salvation. Criminals are those who are not only one with the rest of us in sinning; they are also people who have violated the law of the State, which may or may not be a true approximation to the law of God. They have offended, not only—as we have all offended—against the God by whom they were created and by whom they are still sustained in being, but also against the accepted minimum requirements for ordered life as society understands it. Clearly, nothing can be done about this situation until the criminal is apprehended, so that a primary obligation on all citizens, whether Christian believers or not, must be to help in every way open to them to identify and secure the offender, and that not only in order that it may be decided what shall be done with him, but also so that the particular evil of which he is an example may be checked. This element of responsibility depends to a very large degree on the confidence which the general public has in the Police Force and in the justice of the courts, and we have been singularly fortunate in this country in both respects. But from that point onwards it becomes a very intricate question to decide what should be done with the criminal. The ordinary process of law is fairly simple; but we have moved a long way already from contentment with the processes of law in themselves. It is now, and rightly, a matter of trying to assess the mental condition of the accused and how far the penalties imposed by the law are such that they will help to make dishonest men honest and violent men peaceful.

An atomistic society will be troubled by no such teasing questions; it is sufficient for the many to stand over against the few. Nor will a merely collective society be unduly worried, for the good of the collective is then the absolute good. But any society at all deeply influenced by the Christian valuation of man can never be wholly at ease until all possible ways have been tried to effect a cure of the disease, and will inevitably ask itself not only how this man who has done wrong may be caused to repent and amend his life, but also in what ways the social conditions which have in such large measure produced this example of evil may be changed. That is, we have not only to seek ways of restoring a lost sense of responsibility to the offender, but also to admit our own measure of responsibility for the offence.

This, of course, appears to be nonsense to many people. What possible responsibility have I for the deeds of the man who committed a brutal murder, even in my own town or city? I was not there; I do not know him; I have lived a circumspect life. How can this terrible thing be in any sense laid at my door? Such questions remain unanswerable on any purely legal ground. It is only as we see that crime is but one aspect of sin and that the criminal is no less a brother-man for being unknown to us, that we may begin to have doubts about our own innocence. And thus the picture of the Wesleys wrestling for the souls of condemned men in Newgate is not really so far-fetched as it appears to some people; for what is involved for the Christian is not only that justice shall be done, or even that justice shall be seen to have been done, but that the concern

of the Church, as the representative (however inadequate) of the responsible society, shall also be seen at the point of helping the 'irresponsible man' to regain responsibility—and therefore reconciliation with God.

There is a further aspect of this Christian responsibility to which reference should be made. A previous article has already dealt with the after-care of prisoners. Surely it is there that the ordinary Christian congregation should be able to help directly and without that stultifying air of superiority to which so much charitable work succumbs! If we really believed that we were 'sinners saved by grace', then the Church would cease to be, what it so often is, a congregation of the respectable, and become, what surely it was meant to be, a place where sinners could be held within a new social environment where the operative power was the grace of God. That we are so far from being a place where notorious sinners can find healing and salvation may well be one of the saddest indictments of Christian Church life. And yet it remains true that the one place where this miracle does happen, and could happen on a much wider scale if we were ourselves more responsible, is among the congregation of worshipping people, acknowledging the transcendent worth of what God has done for them and can do for all men in Jesus Christ our Lord.

THE THEATRE TODAY AND ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIAN THINKING

Kay M. Baxter

II

WE LEFT OFF our consideration of the relationship between contemporary theatre and the Christian Faith at the point where Bishop Bell's opening of opportunity, to the dramatists writing for performance in Canterbury Cathedral, had produced the perhaps unfortunate division of drama into Church and non-Church plays. But we had noted the great work undertaken by a few of the leading dramatists in attempting to fashion a language suitable for handling religious themes in dramatic form.

The dereliction and distress consequent upon World War II, the destruction of trust between man and man which was of all the Nazi crimes probably the most disastrous, and the realization of the meaning of human commitment—all this took some years to make its impact in the plays which were presented for production. Thornton Wilder's *Skin of our Teeth* reminded us that Cain never dies, he only slumbers by the hearth from time to time, and if man does escape it is by the skin of his teeth. Martin Browne's production, at the Mercury Theatre, of Ronald Duncan's *This Way to the Tomb*, stated with wit and poignancy the fact that the history of sinners, and of penitence for sin, does not alter in essence though it may change its external manifestations. Eliot's *Family Reunion* showed us the family link between the Greek legend of the Furies, pursuing till they are faced, understood, and accepted, when they become Friendly Ones, and the Christian insight that we are members one of another, so that one soul's full acceptance of suffering may free another from doom and release atoning power. It seemed, from the evidence of such plays, as though men wished to assure themselves that in the ruins of their world they could yet trace a historic continuity with their shattered past.

The different course taken by war in France and the prolonged period of occupation and resistance produced different dramatic reactions, and (as the French theatre affects so closely both our own and that of America) we must spend a little time on noting what happened in France. In France, as Harold Hobson has pointed out, the theatre was one of the focal points of the Resistance Movement, and the playwright could count upon an audience capable of giving him that participation in shared assumptions which 'religious' playwrights today often long for in vain. The Heroine of Jean Anouilh's play, *Antigone*, makes a point no one in the French audience could have failed to take when she says to the tyrant, Creon (who urges her to try to understand her plight and save herself from certain and horrible death by a simple conforming to regulation), 'I am not here to understand; I am here to say "No" and die.' This play comes much nearer the stuff of war experience than those of Wilder or Eliot or Duncan came, and the French existentialist theatre of which it is one example explores

the post-war self of twentieth-century man with more precision than English or American playwrights at that time achieved. Kierkegaard well foretells Antigone's predicament over against that of the Tyrant Creon, when he writes: 'the despair at not willing to be oneself is the despair of weakness, the despair of willing desperately to be oneself is defiance.' The comment of Chorus, in Anouilh's play, on Antigone's decision for death is: 'For the first time little Antigone is going to be herself.' Antigone makes clear that, in Anouilh's view as in Kierkegaard's, the fatal levelling process of our time can only be stopped by the dauntlessness of persons accepting absolute responsibility, and this acceptance must be made in the face of the experience of being 'dominated in a state of anxiety, by an alien power which threatens our dissolution'. Heidegger's phrase, quoted above, is surely true of much of our religious as well as our political thinking; the French Existentialist theatre, with its stress on the cost of loyalty and the need for total commitment, makes salutary reading for those of us who have never had to ask ourselves what the faith *is* for which we would 'say "No" and die'. It is this dauntlessness for an absolute that gives universal importance to the Antigone story. Yet it is not, of course, Christian. Though there are Christian overtones, Christian parallels, in the play as retold by Anouilh, it speaks of no future, it regards hope as a hideous deception. The story of the Passion of Christ shows that all responsibility is Godward, God Himself being both Agent and Victim, yet demanding of His Manhood total assent to total surrender of everything that constitutes manhood, in order to effect (as we believe) the 'taking of the Manhood into God'. No such tremendous weight of responsibility lies upon 'Little Antigone'. Her action is purely political, and the only effect it can have beyond the momentary glory of 'being herself' is that the idea of the *polis* may be cleansed from the taint of the expedient government of Creon and that the citizens may see by example what it is to be wholly committed. Antigone's task is to be herself—a task beyond the reach of most of us. But the task of the Lord is other: it is to draw all men to Him. The commitment in the two cases is equal, the penalty, humanly speaking, the same. But the stakes are not comparable. Antigone's death will not turn the world upside down.

We owe much, in England, to the achievement of the French theatre in the immediate post-war period. Yet England was not without its experimental work. This experimental theatre began with verse plays.

We have mentioned Martin Browne's season of religious productions at the Mercury Theatre, London, in 1945-6, a season which saw the performance of T. S. Eliot's *Family Reunion*, and Ronald Duncan's *This Way to the Tomb*. This Mercury season was the logical climax of the Brownes' effort with the Pilgrim Players, who during the war had taken drama of quality all over England to the most improbable places, thereby ministering to people starved by war-circumstances of the chance of seeing worthwhile plays. Short though it was, this season introduced audiences to Eliot as a theatre playwright and thus broke down that barrier between religious plays for Church and religious plays in the theatre, the existence of which we deplored in the last article. Duncan's play combined a fine poetic gift with pointed topical satire against those who were inclined to regard faith as one more adjunct to gracious living, on a level with possession of a TV set or foreign travel. Duncan showed us first St Antony

resisting temptation, and then modern man striving to discover what it was that might arouse him from boredom—both halves of the play leading to a deeper understanding of the nature of penitence. But quite apart from the intrinsic merit of the individual plays, the remarkable fact was that the plays were staged at all and that they were attended by eager audiences, in spite of the crippling limitations of space, money and personnel caused by war-time impoverishment. The success of the venture proved that, given worthy scripts, a public existed for serious plays on religious themes.

Yet, refreshing though the audiences found them, there was something remote from real life about these plays—none of them dealt in realistic terms with the theme which had above all others concerned the men and women who had lived through World War II. It seemed as though the fundamental problem lodged too deep in the spirit to come to consciousness very quickly. When it began to surface, it produced a further series of explorations of that very question of commitment into which the play of Antigone had probed.

There have followed a number of interesting plays on this theme, set in widely differing situations. Graham Greene in *The Living Room* posed the question of marital fidelity, viewed from the standpoint of a Roman Catholic family—surely a rather oddly assorted family, but one with tremendous dramatic, even melodramatic, possibilities. There were moments of truth such as that when the child Rose, desperately and hopelessly in love, cried out, seeing her lover and his wife together, 'Oh, they are *married*!', in that one poignant cry expressing more of the doctrine of marriage as an irreversible *state*, a total commitment, than Greene was able to express in all the subsequent discussion on the relationship. Though the play's claustrophobic effect precludes any sense of the possibility of Life Abundant, and though one angrily rejects the assertion that in some way this death is appropriate, that 'Rose has borne her child', yet the play did and does stir the mind to question, 'What is worth dying for?'

In America two outstanding plays on the same theme should be noted. Arthur Miller's *Crucible* (set in Massachusetts in the early settlers' day, but really referring to the McCarthy 'Witch hunts' against supposed Communists), also asks, 'What is it a man will die for?' Miller shows us a society dominated by the narrowest kind of piety, utterly remote from the 'glorious liberty' of the sons of God, but, as in the Antigone story, redeemed, to a certain degree, by total loyalty to the truth as the protagonist sees it. Faulkner, in *Requiem for a Nun*, deals with the same question, attempting to estimate the limits to which disinterested love will carry an ignorant human being. A negro woman murders a child in its cradle. Why? What was the total commitment which led her to this dedicated act? Has such commitment any validity? In England, our own John Whiting, in his play *Marching Song*, presented with the greatest sensitivity and insight the problem of a soldier who at the peak of his military career is brought violently and tragically to realize that the whole willed direction of his life has been based on error, and that his ambition (to 'achieve a triumph of arms') must be abandoned utterly in face of his suddenly won knowledge of 'what it is to be a man'.

In each of these plays, the deaths of the leading figures release at least the hope of amendment of life in those who remain. Each death in some sense

brings vicarious atonement. In all, it is possible to find underlying Christian assumptions, tacit, perhaps unconscious, but nevertheless shaping the plays, and making their impact not a fully tragic impact.

Even the dramatist Jean-Paul Sartre, in his play *No Exit* (*Huis Clos*), does not totally exclude the possibility of Hope. Even in *Huis Clos* the door in fact is not *locked*. 'Hell', says Sartre, 'is other people.' While self is central, an impeccably Christian statement! Hell, for Sartre, is in the mind of man, wherefore hope remains, for no man knows the limits of growth set for the human mind or for the human spirit. All these plays, and others of this period, examine, with varying profundity and subtlety, the motives which give, or fail to give, the Courage to *Be*—and this, some years before Dr Paul Tillich published his book under that title.

It was not, however, till 1952 that the staging of Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* changed permanently the tone of the modern theatre and did this with a play of profound religious significance. Once more, in the history of the drama, the religious aspect of a play was almost wholly ignored by dramatic critics—and not only in England. First written and performed in French (where the word Godot brings inevitably a suggestion of uncomeliness) the name was at once interpreted here in England as meaning God; yet the play was variously supposed to be about capitalism and communism, frustration and escapism, nihilism or what-have-you-ism . . . about anything in fact except the book of Isaiah and the Apostles' Creed. The style owes much to James Joyce, whose secretary Beckett was. The approach is that of a writer who well understands that words are shadows of meanings, that one of the modes by which man attempts to understand his own shadow-life is by projection of his sub-conscious into visual and verbal images, and that what he says, while it is bound to express some truth about himself, may be very remote from factual truth as usually understood.

In view of its tremendous influence, we shall discuss this play in some detail. It begins under a death tree outside a city wall, where two tramps are discussing the crucifixion of Christ. The tramps are called Vladimir (the name of the Russian Orthodox Saint who sent messengers all over the world to find out the 'best Religion') and Estragon (or Tarragon, which is a plant of the family Cruciferae or cross-bearer). The tramps wait for Mr Godot, a mysterious personage who, if he comes as they believe he has promised to come, will put everything right in their futile and unsatisfactory lives. Godot doesn't come.

Instead, blustering and overdressed, comes Pozzo (whose name means Fool) and with him his servant Lucky (a reasonable modern equivalent of Beatus, or Blessed One). Lucky is loaded with Pozzo's gear, doesn't react when hit or yelled at, and is indifferent to the sore on his neck caused by the cord which tethers him to his 'master'.

Pozzo converses with the tramps, gives them the bones from his picnic, confides that he is taking his 'menial' to the market to see what he can get for him, boasts of the capabilities of the menial, and urges the tramps to make Lucky dance and 'think aloud' for them. Under threat the servant 'obeys', dances and makes a speech. To what seems a string of incoherencies the tramps react violently, attacking the servant, who falls and appears to die, but is eventually revived and lugged off to market by Pozzo, who loses his watch in the mêlée.

To the tramps, left alone again, a messenger comes to say that Godot won't come that evening. This concludes Part One.

Part Two opens with the same scene as Part One except that the tree which was dead has now put on leaves. Estragon has escaped from his uncomfortable boots which are left centre stage with Lucky's hat, and Vladimir is on stage alone, anxious for his companion's return. When Estragon returns they quarrel and make up as before and unsuccessfully try to imitate Lucky's last dance. Failing and frustrated by failure, Estragon cries out, 'God have pity on me!' 'On *me!*' cries Vladimir, and at the cry Pozzo and Lucky appear. Pozzo is now blind. He stumbles and falls. The tramps think of helping him up but call out to find what his name is. They call him first Abel, then Cain; he replies to both names; they identify him: 'He's all Mankind.' Pozzo, the fool, is all mankind.

After further interchanges, Lucky, who has been sleeping at the foot of the newly-leaved tree, *rises*, and leads Pozzo off towards the City whence they both came. A messenger comes to say that Mr Godot won't come. The play peters out. 'Nothing happens; no one comes, no one goes; it's awful.'

Maybe. Yet the play's synopsis is in fact adequately covered by the words 'Came down; suffered; was crucified, dead, and buried, descended into hell, rose, and ascended.' Beckett is writing a version of the Passion story, set indeed in a strange land, but of quite startling doctrinal orthodoxy. In the composite Vladimir-Estragon he shows us the soul spasmodically attentive and expectant of its Saviour, whom it fails to recognize when He appears, because He is without form or comeliness, in the guise of a servant, bearing the burdens of all mankind, wounded, afflicted, yet dumb . . . dividing the spoils, yes, even chicken bones. There could hardly be a more precise description of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah than is presented in Lucky, the servant on whom the fool All-Mankind is in fact utterly dependent; and it is a wry comment on the state of religious awareness in official circles that a play so clearly presenting the figure of the Saviour on a public stage, contrary to the law of the land, should have aroused not one ripple of protest, nor one critical line of understanding.

It may be thought that such an interpretation strains the text. Yet it is solely through attention to the text that the meaning emerges. Take for example the great death speech of Lucky, so often dismissed as balderdash. Underline the major statements and the result is roughly this—

'Given the existence of a personal God who loves us and suffers, and considering that, as a result of labours left unfinished, man wastes and pines, I resume, in a Word, the skull.'

Is this not wholly consonant with the sentence—'Who for us men and for our salvation came down . . . and was incarnate . . .'? Or, to take another example: Pozzo the fool gains nothing at the market except the knowledge of his blindness. Is there a better symbol for redemption than to know our blindness and to accept our total dependence on the Suffering Servant?

These are but two examples; every page of the text produces more like these. To work through the play thinking along these lines reveals, not indeed a word-for-word parallel with the Scriptures, but nevertheless a Crucifixion, Deposition, Descent into Hell, Resurrection and Ascension, deeply pondered on and perfectly scaled to modern theatrical convention. It is of course worlds apart from a 'modern version' of the Gospel story; to compare it with Dorothy

Sayers's *Man Born to be King* is like comparing a children's coloured cut-out with an El Greco; they exist in totally different spheres of being. Certainly this play calls in question the Impassibility of the Deity; but certainly also we know that one of the names of God is Emmanuel, God with us, and in an age of desolation and grief this presentation of the Suffering Servant is one which grips an audience with extraordinary power. And if it is true that in meditating on the Passion all that enlightens and enlarges the understanding is to be welcomed, then to think as this play forces us to think, is to think with depth and truth at a point where thought often breaks down into mere emotion.

Jean Anouilh said that the first night of Beckett's *Godot* was as important an event in the theatre as the first night of Pirandello put on by the Pitoeffs in the 1920s. For religious drama it was an event equal in importance to the first performance of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* in the 1930s. For a language has been evolved in this play which is capable of bearing, upon the very slightest of phrases, the greatest possible weight of meaning. '*Que voulez vous*' means not only the characteristic French shrugging off of a difficult question, but also in the most precise sense, 'What do you will in this matter?' for understand that it is all a question of will.' The effect of success in evolving such a language is that it is now possible to refer, under the guise of a simple daily expression, to the deep sources of our spiritual anxieties and certainties, without the acute embarrassment which we experience when some earnest propagandist attempts, in the older dramatic conventions, to reveal us to ourselves. The intellectual excitement of this kind of play is also intense; you can't take your ears off the words for a moment or you are lost; it demands an attention similar to that required for hearing lyric poetry, for the writer is using words in a similarly condensed and loaded way. And it is therefore in the works of Beckett and the school of younger writers 'Under the Influence' that we may expect to find the most lively developments in the field of religious drama in the future.

In this necessarily limited space it is possible only to indicate some of the questions which engaged the minds of serious playwrights in this decade.

They ask us: *Is God's will made clear to those who meditate on the mystery of suffering?* *Is salvation a matter of the will?* *Is God's name Emmanuel, or is He indeed the great Absentee?* *Who are the messengers of God—Graham Greene's priest? or Beckett's dumb servant? or the negro murderer?* *Does the Church any longer mediate salvation to sinners?* *What is sin?* *Is Hell other people?* *Are we to understand that all this trail of suffering could be avoided if people acted according to the light they have?* The tramps could have eased Lucky's pains, Pozzo could have shared his food, the Living Room's inhabitants could have loved the two erring lovers and the neurotic wife back into spiritual health. Is all this what the authors are saying? Or are they in fact as much in the dark as are the characters they portray?

These are fundamental questions, and we are forced to try and think our way through them, once we start attending to what our serious playwrights struggle to express to us.

Before considering these developments, however, we must return in the next issue to trace a change in the field of verse drama as opposed to prose.

(To be continued)

COUNT ZINZENDORF

A. J. Lewis

THE APOSTLE OF CHRISTIAN UNITY

(From a tablet in the old Moravian Burial Ground in Chelsea)

IN HIS OWN DAY, Zinzendorf was famed throughout Christendom. His name was beloved by slaves in the West Indies, Eskimos in Greenland, Indians in Pennsylvania, Hottentots in South Africa and the Negroes in Surinam. On the Continent, Bengel hailed him as 'the prophet of the age', and he has been recognized as 'certainly the greatest German Evangelical since Luther'.¹ Many Englishmen looked to him for guidance in the infant-days of the Evangelical Revival: as early as March 1736, John Wesley dared 'to interrupt your more weighty affairs with a letter of mine' to ask for Zinzendorf's prayers;² Isaac Watts revered him as 'a person of uncommon zeal and piety, and of an evangelic spirit';³ and Philip Doddridge went to the heart of the matter when he described him as 'that blessed herald of the Redeemer'.⁴ But still no life of Zinzendorf by an English scholar has appeared, and no extended study of his tremendous contribution to the expansion of Christianity.⁵ It is a neglect which ought to be remedied. Zinzendorf—and through him, the Moravian witness—is outstandingly relevant to the Christian apostolate in 1960. 'What he says', writes Bishop Baudert, 'is often as modern as if he stood among us and spoke to us as his contemporaries';⁶ and I would say that we are not yet abreast of him.

Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf was a prodigious personality, prodigious in gifts, in vision and in achievement. He was a poet and hymn-writer, a pastor and teacher, a missionary, a theologian and ecclesiastical statesman, but all these offices—remarkably realized in themselves—were the outgrowth of one supreme devotion: Zinzendorf's simple, unquestioning, unyielding and all-embracing devotion to the Lamb of God and to His cause of Christian unity in all the world. 'I have but one passion', he declared; "'tis He, 'tis only He'. 'To seek for souls, souls, in order that Jesus may receive those who love Him and that His Kingdom may be inhabited, that is my work', he wrote.⁷ His all-absorbing interest, says Karl Barth, was to implement the idea of a free connexion between all the Churches, 'based on their "common love of the Saviour"'.⁸ Zinzendorf was 'in truth a pioneer of oecumenism';⁹ and it is that seminal ideal which now teases the thought and increasingly inspires the vision of awakened Christians today. We shall see that Zinzendorf's importance in the ecumenical story lies not so much in his achievement—considerable as that was in the light of his own day—but in his exploration. He charted the ecumenical seas and his map is still valid and directive for 1960. The acutest insights of the most modern ecumenical thinkers are found, on examination, to have been already discovered by him.

Zinzendorf was born in Dresden on 26th May 1700. He was brought up by

his grandmother, the Baroness Catherine von Gersdorf in her castle at Gross-Hennersdorf. The Baroness was a personal friend of Spener and Francke, the Pietist leaders, who often visited the castle. Zinzendorf was 'made for religion'.¹⁰ In the Pietist meetings he absorbed their teaching on Christian fellowship. From the beginning he lived in the closest communion with his Saviour—'I was as certain that the Son of God was my Lord as of the existence of my five fingers'—and he longed to share that same fellowship with all Christians. From 1710 to 1716 he was a pupil under Francke at the famous Pietist school in Halle. They were quickening years. The fundamental insight became clearer: Christianity is fellowship with Christ and through him with our fellow-men; without such fellowship there can be no Christianity. With five other boys at Halle, Zinzendorf formed the *Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed*, a society pledged to spread this unifying conception of fellowship in Christ in the divided Churches at home and amongst the heathen overseas.¹¹

After three years at the University of Wittenberg, Zinzendorf set off in 1719 on the Grand Tour. His high rank as a Count of the Empire opened all doors and he talked with the most eminent theologians of many traditions.¹² All he heard confirmed his belief that underlying all the Denominations—all their differences of creed, ritual and constitution—there was a *Herzens-religion* to which all who were in communion with Christ could spontaneously respond and which united them in a common allegiance, fellowship and calling. And this 'heart-religion' arose from gazing upon the Saviour 'when He bled to death for our sins upon the Cross';¹³ 'when our hearts are struck by this', Zinzendorf wrote, ' 'tis the beginning of an universal Kind of Religion, disengaged from all Debates, and where even a child soon becomes a Divine'.¹⁴ When he could ask his friend, Cardinal de Noailles, cannot we all 'reunite in the wounds of Jesus' Zinzendorf had reached the very core and assurance of all his labours for Christian unity: the Lamb of God is the bond of unity between all men, of every Denomination, who recognize themselves as sinners beneath His Cross; all men are joined in the benefits of His Passion; He redeems all men from their isolation and unites them in His living Church.¹⁵ Zinzendorf would have agreed with the modern ecumenists who emphasize that 'Christian unity must be founded on theology';¹⁶ but he would have none of the 'speculating method'; his ecumenical theology arose from the religious experience of those who 'have experienced the Death of Jesus on their hearts'.¹⁷

Zinzendorf asserted, what Dr W. A. Visser 't Hooft has cogently pointed out in our time, that the ultimate unity—beyond any agreement in doctrine, church order and witness—is in Christ;¹⁸ that is the unity which determines all other kinds of unity. The line of Christian unity, for Zinzendorf, was not towards an organic union of all the Denominations, but towards a unity, transcending all ecclesiastical divisions, of those souls, dispersed throughout the world, who have been 'christed in his Heart',¹⁹ who dwell in the Lamb and who cleave to one another in the 'unity of His wounds'. These are they who 'compose the Church Universal, the great Invisible Church of Christ, the Kingdom of His Cross, and are all held fast in His arms'.²⁰ And, according to Zinzendorf, it is the task of the ecumenical apostolate to make this Invisible Church of Christ visible or manifest in all its unity and glory on earth by bringing all the scattered children of God 'into the Ark of holy Christendom (which is not this or that outward

Congregation, but to be in the Ark means to attain to the same Spirit and Ideas of Heart with his true people, even though the person still abide in his former Dwelling-Place).²¹

Zinzendorf's ecumenical ideals and practice soon received their first baptism of fire. In April 1722 he bought the estate of Berthelsdorf from his grandmother and planned to offer there a refuge for oppressed and persecuted Christians of all kinds. In May a wandering-evangelist, named Christian David, brought a group of Brethren, a remnant or 'Hidden Seed' of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, from Moravia to Berthelsdorf; and there, with the Count's permission, they began to build a haven-village, called Herrnhut, 'The Watch of the Lord'. Between 1722 and 1727, refugees flocked to Herrnhut from Moravia and Bohemia and from different parts of Germany, all eager to share in that freedom of worship which had been for so long denied them. Besides the descendants of the *Unitas Fratrum*, there were exiles from Lutheran homes, Pietist, Reformed, Separatist, Anabaptist, Gichtelian and Roman Catholic—and their variety brought the almost inevitable discord. But Zinzendorf, acting as an unordained catechist and pastor, brought them into the fellowship of the Lamb, and on 13th August 1727, in a blessed Holy Communion at Berthelsdorf, 'all the members were touched in a singular manner by the efficacy of the Word of reconciliation through the Blood of Christ',²² and 'the many kinds and sects . . . were melted together into one'.²³ There and then in the full vigour of their own unity in the Lamb and in a fine leap of the spiritual imagination, the whole community of Herrnhut accepted and obeyed Zinzendorf's ecumenical insight—that to be a Christian is to be involved in a mission to the whole world.

Dr Visser 't Hooft has reminded us that 'the word ecumenical . . . must not be isolated from the missionary and evangelistic context in which it belongs'.²⁴ It is a fair claim to make for Zinzendorf that he was the first in the modern world to set the word ecumenical in that context. Indeed, as Visser 't Hooft reports from the Moravian historian, Heinz Renkewitz, it was Zinzendorf who first used the word *Oikoumene* to carry 'the meaning: the world-wide Christian Church'.²⁵ It was in Herrnhut that the pattern of the modern ecumenical movement was woven. Zinzendorf transformed a band of refugees of differing Christian traditions into the storming column (a *militia Christi*) of a missionary host proclaiming the unity of all men in 'Christ and His wounds' across the world, and history supplies no similar example.

First, Zinzendorf organized the bonds of unity in Herrnhut. He was an educative force of the first magnitude; he had a genius for fellowship;²⁶ and with an amazing fertility and a magnificent torrential energy he directed and developed that fellowship. He divided the brethren and sisters into 'Choirs' or groups according to their sex and age. He divided them into Bands and class-meetings according to their spiritual needs and growth. Here were the forerunners of the modern 'graded Church' and the 'cells of prayer'. He set up schools; he wrote Litanies and countless hymns and edited hymn-books;²⁷ he prepared a Text-Book each year; and he revived the New Testament Love-feast which Christendom had well-nigh forgotten.²⁸

And then he trained and equipped the *Saviour's Armoury*: a host of *Boten* (evangelists), *Botschafter* (messengers), *Zeugen* (witnesses), *Streiter* (champions), ready to go out to any place in the world, at a moment's notice, to spread the

fellowship of the Lamb.²⁹ It is now increasingly recognized that the Church's character on earth is a missionary one and that the origins of the modern Ecumenical Movement lie in the mission fields.³⁰ The modern world-wide Missionary Movement began in August 1732 when Zinzendorf sent Dober and Nitschmann to the slaves of the West Indian island of St Thomas.³¹ Within fifteen years the people of Herrnhut were preaching 'Christ Crucified' in sixteen different mission fields. And as the venture grew, so did it become more international in character: Moravians from Germany, Holland, Britain and America proclaimed the 'unity in Christ' in the West Indies, Labrador, the Nicobar Islands, Persia and Tartary, Russia, South Africa, Algiers, North and South America. At the heart of this epic of unselfish devotion and unbreakable courage, beat the pulse of Zinzendorf's ecumenical vision. His conception of the missionary, his message and strategy, was the first coherent contribution to the vast ecumenical task, and still provides a blueprint for the future.³² In his series of *Instructions* he conceived the missionary as a servant of the heathen, not lording it over them, but living humbly with them, earning his own bread and teaching them the dignity of labour, taking no part in local politics or interdenominational recriminations.³³ The missionary (as indeed all the servants of the Lamb everywhere) must recognize that he is but a 'poor tool' in the hands of the Holy Spirit; he must not seek to convert whole nations, but follow the Spirit's leading in seeking out responsive individuals to form the 'first-fruits' of the Lamb. Above all he must not argue, but make Christ Crucified the heart of his message: 'Tell the Hottentots about the Lamb of God until you can tell them no more', was Zinzendorf's commission to George Schmidt; '*Die Streitersache ist das Geschäft Jesu Christi auf seinem Erdboden*—the missionary cause is Jesus Christ's affair in His world'. Where Zinzendorf could not visit he kept in touch by thousands of letters and reports; his task was prodigious, but so was the man.

To quicken his mission of proclaiming the Saviour in all the world, of increasing the number of the 'christened ones' and of making their unity clear to the world, Zinzendorf's fertile mind devised two kindred ventures: the *Pilgrim Congregation* and the *Diaspora*. For ten years from March 1736 he was banished from Saxony because of his ecumenical activities. He roamed the Continent, preaching and singing and planning in Wetteravia, Berlin, Switzerland, Holland and England; and wherever he went the Lamb's itinerant headquarters—the Pilgrim Congregation—went with him, and a vast campaign of evangelism and ecumenical witness was organized and manned. Individuals and groups within the other Churches were awakened to a deeper fellowship in the Lamb. It was no matter to Zinzendorf to which Denomination an awakened soul belonged; that he belonged to the Lamb was enough. A Pilgrim, according to Zinzendorf, was 'a Philadelphian (lover of the brethren), with a Moravian coat and a Lutheran tongue'; and his mission was to clothe the awakened 'in their several religious habits as Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, Moravians'.³⁴ The Pilgrim Congregation claimed nothing for itself: it sought to be a candlestick in a dark world and amongst the Churches.

The Diaspora (1 Pet. 1,1) shared the same irenic purpose. The Diaspora 'messengers' covered a wide area of Europe, going from house to house and holding meetings for prayer and understanding. Some of the 'visited' remained just attenders and witnesses to Christian unity at the meetings; but others were

formed into Societies in close fellowship with the Moravian Church (the Renewed *Unitas Fratrum*), reading Moravian literature and holding services on the Moravian pattern. These Society members, however, never shared in the Moravian Lord's Supper. They took this Sacrament in the State Church or the Denomination to which they belonged and whose services they regularly attended. It was through the network of meetings and Societies established by the Pilgrim Congregation and the Diaspora that Zinzendorf and his Moravians quickened the life and unity of Christendom and justly earned the tribute: 'they were the vital leaven of European Protestantism'.³⁶ The Pilgrim Congregation and the Diaspora, in all their enterprises and in their very being, were to be examples of that *koinonia*, that fellowship and unity, which comes to all Christians when they think less of clinging narrowly to their own Denominations, and think more of cleaving simply to the Saviour and to one another in Him.

In the vital decade of the 1740's, Zinzendorf endeavoured to make clear to his generation a conception of practical fellowship between the different Churches which should be a living earnest of 'the coming Christian Oikoumene'. This was the *Tropus-idea*.³⁷ It was based on the recognition of the manifoldness of life and of revelation; each of the Churches (Denominations) was a *Tropus*, 'a School of Wisdom', with its own particular 'Jewel' of truth, ritual or order, to contribute to the whole Body of Christ in setting forth the full glory and mission of the Lamb.³⁸ In each *Tropus*, the Lamb was preparing His 'christened ones' for their membership in the one Universal Church. Zinzendorf was not interested in ecclesiastical joinery as such, nor in an 'ecumenical minimum', and he would have none of the *Tropuses* destroyed; 'Religions (Denominations, *Tropuses*), are God's economy', he wrote, 'machinery to bring forth Truth and the Love of His Son to men according to their capacity, and according to the temperature and atmosphere of the country'.³⁹

How then, he asked, could the 'christened ones' of the different *Tropuses* be brought together in some firmer field of encounter than the Diaspora? How could they meet in some ecumenical structure, still keeping and quickening their particular Denominational treasure, and yet learning from each other in mutual discovery, rendering a common witness in a common calling, seeking afresh the full dimensions of the Universal Church, and re-discovering that unity which they already shared in the Lamb of God, the Head of the Church?⁴⁰ Was there anywhere a valid Christian communion of irenic and ecumenical traditions, a servant to all the Churches, seeking no dominion herself, careless of her own life and growth, which could provide a resting-place, a place of union, an Inn for the members of the Invisible Church made visible? Yes, there was the ancient *Unitas Fratrum* whose 'Hidden Seed' had been nurtured by him at Herrnhut. She could form that comprehensive Ark to shelter and bring together members from every *Tropus* under heaven. She had been fashioned in the strange confluence of history for that very purpose;⁴¹ and when that purpose had been securely founded, she could vanish from the scene.⁴² In the light of this purpose, the *Unitas Fratrum* was renewed in the Moravian Church with her full ministerial Orders, and recognized on the Continent, in America and in Great Britain, as an 'ancient Protestant Episcopal Church'.⁴³ And Zinzendorf became a minister and a Bishop in her service.

It was in Pennsylvania, amidst a 'Babel of religions', that Zinzendorf experimented in fashioning the Tropuses into a federated Church or *Congregation of God in the Spirit*, resting in the broad bosom of the 'Church of the Brethren'. In seven Synods, January to June 1742, he attempted to unite the Lutherans, Reformed, Presbyterians, Mennonites, etc., in a common ministry and communion, and in a common witness to the Indians, while at the same time retaining their own Denominational membership. In 1745 he attempted to unite the Tropuses on the Continent; Muller was at the head of the Moravian Tropus, von Watteville over the Reformed Tropus, and Zinzendorf at the head of the Lutheran Tropus. In September 1746, Zinzendorf came over to London to clarify the relationship between the Moravians and the Church of England, and to consider the formation of an Anglican Tropus. He informed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London that the Brethren's Church sought nothing for herself;⁴³ she was simply to be 'the Inn of all those Children of God, who cannot otherwise subsist and come through the world'.⁴⁴ In such an Inn, those who had left the Anglican Church for Methodism might find their way back to their own Tropus.⁴⁵ Zinzendorf got so far as to persuade Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, to accept the Presidency of the English Tropus; but in England, as in America and on the Continent, the Count's vision was too wide and tolerant, and the other Denominations, by their mistrust and sectarian suspicion, reduced his scheme to a splendid failure.

But Zinzendorf still hoped beyond hope that the unity for which he longed would come in embryo on the Mission fields and flower across the whole of Christendom. 'It pains me', he wrote, 'to see people polishing up the Churches again for the heathen and asking them to which of the Christian denominations they belong'.⁴⁶ And in this he speaks not only as our contemporary but as our teacher.

'The Apostle of Unity' died at Herrnhut on 9th May 1760, worn out by his labours for the Lamb. 'Did you suppose, in the beginning', he asked those around his bed, 'that the Saviour would do as much as we now really see, in the various Moravian settlements, amongst the children of God of other Denominations, and amongst the heathen? I only entreated of Him a few first-fruits of the latter, but there are now thousands of them'.⁴⁷

This then is something of the ecumenical vision and venture of Count Zinzendorf, brave, direct and selfless: 'Tis not properly our business to enlarge the knowledge of Christians of whatever Denomination, or to correct their principles; but to refresh to them the Image of Jesus'.⁴⁸ This is the 'warm-hearted unionist', as Dr Yoder calls him, 'who dared to attempt what the boldest ecumenical minds of the 19th century only ventured to pen'.⁴⁹

Although in the busy mid-eighteenth century the Moravian and Methodist paths intertwined at so many levels, Zinzendorf and John Wesley had little personal contact; they had still less understanding of each other's personality; and they both tended to regard each other with suspicion as 'Pope' of their respective Communions.⁵⁰ But that the broad influence of Zinzendorf's ecumenical witness touched the heart of Wesley cannot be doubted; in the sunlit days following upon the Aldersgate experience, Wesley visited the Moravian Settlement at Marienborn and he was moved with admiration—'Oh how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'.⁵¹ That the

Moravian declared 'I cannot with my testimony confine myself to one Denomination, for the whole earth is the Lord's, and all souls are his; I am debtor to all', and that the Methodist affirmed 'I look upon all the world as my parish', was no unconnected leap of the Christian imagination.⁵² Finally, I am sure that Zinzendorf would have welcomed wholeheartedly a passage in a letter from Wesley to his old Moravian friend, James Hutton, written on 26th December 1771: 'If we do not yet think alike, we may at least love alike.'⁵³ That is the insight upon which our growth into Christian unity depends.

¹ A. L. Drummond, *German Protestantism since Luther* (London, 1951), pp.72f.

² *The Letters of John Wesley* (London, 1931), I.195-60.

³ *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia* (London, 1749), p.42.

⁴ Daniel Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton* (London, 1856), p.60.

⁵ The Moravians 'contributed mightily to the great awakenings in Europe, Great Britain and America' (K. S. Latourette, *The Prospect for Christianity*, p.38). W. G. Addison, *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren* (1932), and R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (1950), include accounts of Zinzendorf.

⁶ *International Review of Missions* (July 1932), p.392.

⁷ *Ibid.* (October 1957), p.422; article by J. M. van der Linde.

⁸ From *Rousseau to Ritschl* (London, 1959), p.44.

⁹ Dr Norman Sykes in a broadcast, 9th May 1957.

¹⁰ R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (1950), p.399.

¹¹ In later years, churchmen and statesmen of manifold origin were corresponding members of this *Order*: the Archbishops of Canterbury and Paris; General Oglethorpe and the King of Denmark, etc.

¹² He talked with Samuel Werenfels of Basle, who, with Turrenttini of Geneva and Ostervald of Neuchatel, Archbishop Wake and Daniel Jablonski, devoted their learning and eloquence to the promotion of Christian unity in an age of 'high Church walls'.

¹³ Zinzendorf, *Maxims* (ed. John Gambold, 1751), p.256.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ This is, of course, an axiom of ecumenical thinking today: 'Only at the Cross, where men know themselves as forgiven sinners, can they be made one' (*Evanston Speaks*, Reports from the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches [London, 1954], p.11).

¹⁶ Cf. John Lawrence, 'Thoughts on Christian Unity and on World Religions' in *Frontier* (January 1959), p.19.

¹⁷ As Ritschl affirmed, this method of regarding dogmatic formularies was an epoch-making thing in evangelical Christianity; for the importance of Zinzendorf here, see R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology*, p.343.

¹⁸ *The Pressure of our Common Calling*, pp.89f.

¹⁹ *Fetter Lane Discourses*, p. 117

²⁰ *Maxims*, p.353.

²¹ *Ibid.* p.357.

²² Arvid Gradin, *A Short History of the Bohemian-Moravian Protestant Church of the United Brethren* (London, 1743), p.34.

²³ A full account of this Moravian 'Pentecost' can be found in *The Memorial Days of the Renewed Church of the Brethren* (London, 1895), pp.79f.

²⁴ *The Meaning of Ecumenical* (London, 1953), p.28.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p.18.

²⁶ Zinzendorf added to the two Sacraments of the Protestant Church a third: Fellowship (C. H. Shawe, *The Spirit of the Moravian Church*, p.24). For the influence of this 'Fellowship' on the Wesleys, see Towson, *Moravian and Methodist*, p.175; A. W. Harrison, *The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion*, pp.35f.

²⁷ In 1754 he published in London, *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in All Ages*; this was the most comprehensive and ecumenical collection yet seen in Christendom, drawing from Roman Catholic, Protestant and Eastern sources. In 1757 he published the *Book of Litanies* in which for the first time all the Churches of the world were mentioned by name and fervent intercession made for their final unity.

²⁸ This service is now coming into favour as a possible 'point at which the divided Churches of Christendom may meet in a common act of worship and fellowship' (*Intercommunion*, ed. Donald Baillie and John Marsh, p.388). It is odd to read that this service 'was revived in England in 1949' (*ibid.* p.390)—the Moravians have been using it in England since 1740 at least.

²⁹ E.g. on being called to Greenland, one Moravian missionary replied that he would go as soon as his boots came back from the cobblers.

³⁰ Cf. John M. Todd, *Catholicism and the Ecumenical Movement*, p.47.

³¹ This 'pride of place' is acknowledged by Norman Goodall in *A History of the London Missionary Society* (1954), p.1. He quotes also the classic statement of Warneck that the Moravians 'called more missions to life than did the whole of Protestantism in two centuries'. It should be

noted that the SPCK and SPG directed their activities not to the natives (as the Moravians did) but to 'the King's loving subjects' beyond the seas, and they 'confined themselves to particular fields'; the Moravian enterprise was on a world scale (see K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, I.69).

³² Zinzendorf saw clearly, and the Moravian Church has proved, what the Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council (1958) proclaimed: the mission of the Church throughout the world is a responsibility of the whole Church and not only of the 'missionary organizations' (see *International Review of Missions*, April 1958, pp.137-52). The Moravian Church always has been a mission Church: 'Here was a new phenomenon', writes Latourette of Zinzendorf and his Moravians, 'in the expansion of Christianity, an entire community . . . devoted to the propagation of the faith' (*A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, III.47).

³³ 'If the fruit is but brought to Him to whom it belongs, no matter whether the reapers be Moravians, Episcopalian, Presbyterians or Baptists, etc.' (Ettwein, an eighteenth-century Moravian missionary in North America. Quoted in *Moravian Messenger*, August 1958, p.2.)

³⁴ Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p.118.

³⁵ Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p.390. The Moravians in the Pilgrim Congregation and the Diaspora were the midwives to the Evangelical Revival and to the great Methodist movement: see Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist*, Chapter 3; *A History of Christianity in Yorkshire* (ed. F. S. Popham), Chapter 8; and note James Hutton's comment on the preaching of Bohler in London in 1738—'Here therefore the evangelic period commenced in England' (Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp.28f).

³⁶ From the Greek—*tropoi peideias* (methods of training).

³⁷ *Maxims*, p.332.

³⁸ This partly accounts for Zinzendorf's firm respect for the State Churches. He viewed the Methodists with some suspicion because he feared that they were 'about to break away from the Church of England' (see Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist*, p.173, and Addison, *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren*, p.32. For a modern statement of cultural and temperamental differences between Christians, see Henry P. Van Dusen, *What is the Church Doing?*).

³⁹ Zinzendorf took it as axiomatic that because the Lamb is one with His Church the unity of the Church is a fact to be built on rather than an ideal to be achieved.

⁴⁰ In the parliamentary debate on the *Acta Fratrum* (1749), Lord Granville described the *Unitas Fratrum* as 'a casting-net over all Christendom, to take in all the Denominations of Christians; if you like Episcopacy, they have it; if you choose the presbytery of Luther or Calvin, they have it also; if you delight in Quakerism, there is a people amongst them that have something of that, and of every denomination of Christians, except Popery'.

⁴¹ 'For the present', Zinzendorf said, 'the Saviour is manifesting His *Gemeine* to the world in the outward form of the Moravian Church; but in fifty years that Church will be forgotten' (J. E. Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, p.262. See Addison [*The Renewed Church of the United Brethren*, p.146] for a most interesting Anglican statement of the same position).

⁴² *Acta Fratrum* (1749).

⁴³ 'We wish for nothing more than that some time or other there might be some bishop or parish minister found of the English Church to whom . . . we could deliver the care of those persons of the English Church, who have given themselves to our care' (Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p.182).

⁴⁴ *Acta Fratrum*, p.92.

⁴⁵ See Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp.182f., and Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist*, pp.127f. Zinzendorf was 'shocked' by the Methodist tendency towards separation from 'their former constitution'—see his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Addison, *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren*, pp.180f.).

⁴⁶ Baudert, *International Review of Missions* (July 1932), p.398.

⁴⁷ A. G. Spangenberg, *Life of Zinzendorf* (E.T. by Samuel Jackson, 1836), p.502.

⁴⁸ *Maxims*, p. 93.

⁴⁹ *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* (ed. Rouse and Neill), p.230.

⁵⁰ Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist*, p.163.

⁵¹ *Journal of John Wesley*, II.10f.

⁵² Cf. Nicolas Zernov, *The Reintegration of the Church*, p.32: 'The real cause of the disruption of the Church is . . . the limitations of Christian imagination which failed to grasp the task assigned to the Church on earth.'

⁵³ *John Wesley's Letters*, V.294.

JOHN WESLEY'S LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER

W. F. Lofthouse

II

(Concluded from previous issue)

THIS, HOWEVER, is not quite the whole story. Everyone who knows anything about the subject is aware that certain differences rose between them, not of head or heart only, but of both; and we are told that as a result John made the great mistake of his life, or was forced to repudiate one whose poems have done more for the societies he founded than all his own sermons and printed books. If this could be maintained, it would vitiate much that has gone before. But crises must not be isolated from the whole story of a man's life. The river explains the rapids, not the rapids the river. And we shall find when we turn to the so-called crises as illuminated by the letters, that however discordant were the tones from time to time, the basic melodies were unaltered.

The periods of tension which have naturally attracted most attention among the more casual students of Methodism are two—from October 1749 when John lost Grace Murray, to February 1751 when he married Mrs Vazeille, and September 1784 which was the time of the American ordinations. Let us deal first with the earlier of the two. This is not the place to venture another opinion on the unhappy episode; our business is simply with the letters of the two brothers. But it is not amiss to recall that six months before Grace Murray's marriage to John Bennet, Charles himself had been married very happily by his brother to Miss Sarah Gwynne. John was almost silent on the matter. No letters to Charles on the subject are extant. The one reference, in John's *Journal*, is 'I married my brother and Sarah Gwynne. It was a solemn day, such as becomes the dignity of a Christian marriage.' This statement is wedged in between the details of a long journey through Wales and Ireland.¹

Charles, however, in his own *Journal* refers to obstacles which had to be overcome, chiefly by financial anxieties in the mind of Mrs Gwynne. In the beginning of the year, however, John proposed to Mrs Gwynne to settle £100 per annum on his brother out of the profits of his publications; this was repeated next month, though not mentioned by John. On the morning of 7th April 1749 matters were talked over with Mrs Gwynne, 'and all my brother's fears', says Charles, 'were scattered'.² The lawyers, we learn, had already worked out the details. On the day of the wedding, 'not a cloud was to be seen from morning till night. My brother seemed the happiest person among us', 'he stayed over the Sunday'; preached, and left at 4 o'clock the next morning.³ John wrote simply: 'Sunday 9; I preached at Builth, Maesmynys and Garth. Monday 10; a little after ten we reached Llanidloes'.⁴ Whatever conclusions could be drawn from this laconic language, John never wrote to his brother without sending his love to Sally; and on Charles's death-bed he took over the care of his wife and children.

How different was the story of the Grace Murray episode in the autumn of that year. There is no doubt that John was genuinely in love with Grace. As he

said later of Fletcher and Mary Bosanquet, they were made for each other.⁵ He had watched her for ten years, and was assured that she was the right helpmeet for such as he. Charles too had known and admired her, as is clear from a letter she wrote to him, 'my Rev. father in Christ', as early as 1740. Why did John let her go? Again letters fail us, nor can we find the answer in the British Museum MS. Perhaps he was moved more than he knew by Charles's previous opposition, by Bennet's putting of his case, and even by fears roused in the far-off Georgian days and not quite forgotten.

Charles's opposition is intelligible enough; but the hysteria (the word is here in place) is plain when we find John with Charles and George Whitefield together at Leeds two days after the marriage, and Charles bursts out with: 'I renounce all intercourse with you but what I have with a heathen man and a publican.'⁶ Presently John Bennet came in; 'we kissed each other', says John, 'and wept'. After more conversation, Charles 'seemed utterly amazed and now blamed her only'. There is no real trace of resentment in John's subsequent letters to Charles or to Bennet, though on the back of one of the latter he adds: 'Poor Grace; you have formerly been the means of many blessings to me.' John's own reading of his heart he makes clear to us in the pathetic verses preserved in Moore's *Life*, and through these hectic days he appears to have been the one man who kept his head and his principles.⁷

This may be conceded, even if the cogency of his reasoning be disputed. Common sense would say 'he should have married Grace; he never ought to have married Mrs Vazeille'. He writes in the *Journal*, under the date 2nd February 1751, that after a letter from Vincent Perronet, 'I was clearly convinced that I ought to marry. I fully believed that I might be more useful in a married state, into which, upon this clear conviction and by the advice of my friends, I entered a few days after.' To the actual occasion, on the 18th or 19th, he does not refer. He informed Charles on the Saturday; but it was left to Edward Perronet to reveal the lady's name. Charles was overwhelmed. 'I retired', he wrote, 'to mourn with my faithful Sally. I groaned all the day and several following ones under my own and the people's burden.' 'On Sunday, Feb. 3rd. I gave the sacrament, but without power or life.'⁸

In a fortnight's time, Charles writes, 'at the Foundery, I heard my brother's apology. I was one of the last that heard of his unhappy marriage.' Mr Blackwell, a friend of both brothers and of Mrs Vazeille, 'dragged me to my dear sister' on 24th February.⁹ 'My brother came to the chapel house with his wife. I was glad to see him; saluted her, stayed to hear him preach'; and on Friday, 15th March, six weeks after the melancholy Saturday, he says: 'I called on my sister; kissed and assured her I was perfectly reconciled to her and to my brother.'¹⁰

We need not attempt to trace once more the history of the next twenty years—John's justifiable complaints about her in his letters to his brother (he barely hints at the matter to anyone else) and his subsequent reconciliations. He certainly, as he wrote to his brother two and a half years after the marriage, 'found it much easier to hope than to despair of any person or thing'. His kindnesses to his step-children seem to have been unbroken. His wife left him, as he records in his *Journal*, at the end of January 1771;¹¹ they were together again, however, in the middle of 1772; she left him again; a further reconciliation followed; and her final departure took place in 1776.

What concerns us is the way in which he shared it all with Charles. 'Peace once more' (1759);¹² 'where and how is my wife? I wrote her last Saturday' (1760); 'my wife gains ground; she is quite peaceable and loving to all' (1763); 'my wife continues in an amazing temper; miracles are not ceased' (1766);¹³ 'my wife, I find, is on the high ropes still' (1771);¹⁴ 'in these fifty years I do not remember to have seen such a change. She is now *tota merum mel* [all pure honey], finding fault with nobody' (1772). In 1781 she was dead.¹⁵

Was Charles ever allowed to think that John finally despaired of his wife? Charles's complaint was always that John would never despair of anyone; and John admitted its justice. What we should like to know is what Charles understood and what he was meant to understand by the letter which John wrote to him in 1755 accusing him of 'gross bigotry' for excluding a member of society for not going to Church; and then ending up with 'love is rot'.¹⁶

To do justice to the controversy on ordination in 1780, it must be viewed as rising first in the earliest days of their mission. From the beginning both Dissenters and those whom we should call outsiders were drawn into the Methodist societies; and they were naturally puzzled when told that they must regard themselves as 'in the Church'. Whatever their hereditary or family or religious or political loyalties to a Church which in many instances repudiated the Methodists, drove them from its altars, and adopted the traditional roles of ecclesiastical persecution, their case for separation or independence and for connexion with their own ministers rather than with the established clergy seemed strong enough. Why did both the brothers oppose their arguments so vigorously? Charles had been excluded from the Lord's Table as pointedly as John. John proclaimed his allegiance to the Church as passionately as Charles. Together they faced the bishops and the mobs; Charles was as clear as John that (as John wrote in 1739) 'if any man, bishop or other, ordain that I shall not do what God commands me to do, to submit to that ordinance would be to obey man rather than God'.¹⁷ Both agreed, to quote John's words again, in 1739, that it was vain to trust in baptism for salvation 'unless men were holy of heart, without which their circumcision actually became uncircumcision'.¹⁸

'For preaching the doctrine of present salvation as attainable by faith alone we were forbidden to preach in the churches.'¹⁹ From the London Conference of 1755 onwards, all were agreed on no separation. But John was tried severely. Are you less strict than I? he asks in 1752. Are you for or against me? I am the best judge.²⁰ The year after, he writes that it is not the Church but love that is important.²¹ In 1755 Charles excludes a member for not going to church. We recollect John's comment. But John is as horrified as Charles at Maxfield's assertion that 'separation is no evil'.²²

The pleas for mutual support and agreement which meet us in the sixties are rather in doctrinal than ecclesiastical matters.²³ And although the question of separation comes up at Conference after Conference, John is as inflexible as Charles.

In 1775, America begins to figure in the letters, as a political question. ('Taxation no tyranny.' 'Why will not King George be his own Prime Minister?') But by 1780 ordination had become a pressing problem.²⁴ The Americans, left with only a bare remnant of the Anglican ministry, and practically debarred from the Lord's Supper, were urgent. Charles was adamant

against their request. 'Read Stillingfleet's *Irenicon*', replies John, 'or any other impartial history of the Ancient Church, and I believe—I verily believe that you will think as I do. I have as good a right to ordain as to administer the Lord's Supper. But I see abundance of reasons why I should not use that right.'²⁵ A sentence which follows, 'by this time you might understand me better', refers to the next edition of the *Hymn Book*! And the letters proceed with no further references to the subject. In 1785 he writes: 'many times you see further into men than I do.'²⁶ But later in the year (19th August) he is ready to obey the bishops as much as the laws require. The uninterrupted succession he knows 'to be a fable'.²⁷ He has no more desire to be separated from the Church than fifty years ago. But what is the Church? Discipline 'is wellnigh vanished away, and the doctrine both you and I adhere to'. He will not disobey even the 'mitred infidels' (a phrase of Charles's in his *Epistle* of forty years previously) 'an hair's breadth further than I believe to be meet, right, and my bounden duty'. 'If you will go hand in hand with me, do. But do not hinder me if you will not help.' After a month he sends another appeal.²⁸ 'Do not confound the intellects of the people in London.' Charles replied that he never knew of more than one mitred infidel; 'and if I could prove that you were separating from the Church, I would not'. Later Charles writes: 'I can do nothing to prevent the possible separation but pray.' In April 1786 John writes: 'I love the Church as sincerely as ever I did', but, a week or two later comes—'the wretched minister [at Scarborough] preached such a sermon that I could not in conscience advise them to hear any more'.²⁹ A fortnight afterwards he is agreeing to a remark by Charles: 'One may leave a church, which I would advise in some circumstances, without leaving the Church.'³⁰

The whole case is summed up concisely in a letter of John's to Henry Brooke in 1786, in which he quotes as the reply of Philip Henry to a friend's 'I hope, Sir, you will not go to Church any more [to hear railing accusations]': 'Indeed, I will go in the afternoon; if the minister does not know his duty, I bless God I know mine.'³¹

In September 1784 John ordained Coke along with Whatcoat and Vasey; subsequently, preachers were ordained for Scotland and England, the last in 1789. The references which we have in John's letters to Charles are surprisingly few, and as brief as those which he makes in his *Journal*. Neither John nor Charles seems to have expected the religious and ecclesiastical results which followed the flight of the ordained Anglican clergy from the infant republic. But John's reference to Stillingfleet, quoted above, came four years after the Declaration of Independence.

There is, indeed, a gap two years later, between May 1783 and March 1785. But the letters before and after this interval run on, discussing quite intimate subjects, though without a trace of divergent views. Coke is referred to by name in 1785, but only on some matter of publication.³² At last, in the September of that year, twelve months after the first ordination, John can only repeat himself.³³ Four months previously, Charles had written, 'When once you began ordaining in America you knew that your preachers here would never let you rest till you ordained them.' 'We can', once more replied John, 'agree to disagree.' 'I no more separate from the Church than I did in 1758.' John, Charles allows, may be a scriptural *episcopos*, and so is every minister who has the cure of

souls.³⁴ John adds that Coke, of whom Charles had complained, may speak rashly; 'but I can rely on him. If you will not or cannot help me yourself, do not hinder those that can and will.' 'I must save as many souls as I can.' To this Charles replies a week after: 'I know nothing that I can do to prevent a possible separation but pray. God forbid that I should sin against Him by ceasing to pray for the Church of England and for you.'

The only other references are as follows: In a letter written in April 1786, which discusses concerts and books, John writes: 'Indeed, I love the Church as sincerely as ever I did. The Methodists will not leave the Church, at least while I live.' A fortnight later he is fearing that 'our people may be driven from the Church by the preaching they hear inside it'. But 'they will ordain no one without my full and free consent'. Was the Apostle to the Gentiles himself always quite consistent?

However important the issues raised by the political changes across the Atlantic, and whatever exasperation the brothers might have been tempted to feel towards one another, the crisis, if such it can be called, caused no breach in their friendship, and no change in the even tenor of their correspondence. Once the air had been cleared, as one might say, by the exchange of letters in August and September 1785, all was as it had been. It could hardly be called an instance of *amantium rixae*. They continued to speak to one another as they had learned to do at Epworth sixty years before. They were still one in heart.

We are left with one question which has seldom been asked. What was the cause of this lifelong devotion of the brothers to the Anglican Church, and their dread and even detestation of Dissent? The suggested antithesis between John's care for Methodism and Charles's care for the Establishment is wholly beside the mark. Even after his ordinations, John affirmed, as we have seen, his unbroken and undiminished allegiance to the Church. The truth is that the brothers had grown up in the Epworth parsonage, where the Church of England was regarded as the sheet anchor of stability alike in religion, morals, orthodoxy and politics. Dissent, of which little was known, or remembered, was taken to stand for low morals and loose opinions. It meant 'stillness', antinomianism and the 'horrible decrees'. This conviction neither John nor Charles ever really surrendered. When their mission began in 1739, and they found themselves sent into 'a world of ruffians', no violence of their opponents ever weakened its hold on them. Neither of them was disturbed by what could not but rattle in the mind of any serious Dissenter, the Test Act; still less by the rubric whose modern interpretation—no communion without previous confirmation—they both clearly set at nought, and whose strict enforcement, had it been attempted by authority, would have made the Act still more of a farce.

On the other hand, neither of them hesitated a moment about the duty of obeying God rather than man, and when obedience demanded preaching in unauthorized places and by unauthorized persons, extempore prayer, fresh responsibilities for women, and even the reception of Dissenters into the new societies, no man-made obstacles were allowed to interfere. Charles stood up to the bishops, and the mobs, as manfully as did John. The truth is, they regarded themselves not as rebels, but as champions of the Church which was setting its face against them. They might be 'smeared' as either Jesuits or Jacobites. Their

one duty was, by spreading scriptural holiness through the land, to recall the Church to her rightful mind; and if they both believed to the end that this entailed the prohibition of the administration of the Supper by unordained persons, few Anglicans today will be prepared to find fault with them. Year after year the Conference heard the question raised, and answered with a determined 'no separation'. There remained the one fear that either might be travelling too rapidly, or in the wrong direction, to reach the goal. The difference lies here. Charles, after the turn of the century, settling down as a married man, first in Bristol and then in London, came to find that he had only himself to think about. He could do all that he wished to do; and he was quite content to enjoy the liberty that in no small measure was accorded to him. John, on the other hand, had to bear increasingly, and with little or no help from his brother, the care of the societies. After he had passed middle life, the mobs for the most part left him alone; but his followers, and therefore he with them, were faced by the opposition of the Establishment; they were tripped up on legal points, by magistrates or lawyers; they had to listen to attacks from the pulpit on their beliefs or their characters; and they were not seldom denied the Sacrament in their own parish church. All this affected Charles but lightly.

So with the Conventicle Acts. Charles never understood the difficulties John had to meet, caused by preachers who stoutly refused to call themselves Dissenters. Nor did he take part in any of the disputes which led John, autocrat that he was, to lay down the two principles, 'no one to be appointed to any chapel or society except by me' and 'no ordination to be carried out except by me'; principles which, transferred at John's death to the 'legal Conference', have remained in being ever since.

Charles's interest narrowed as John's grew steadily wider; though, to judge from his letters, John steadily refused to recognize the fact. The world was no longer Charles's parish; and when the crisis came, Charles, like some of the contemporary politicians, was moved by the terms of an abstract formula. 'Ordination', he repeated, 'is separation'; but of the vast issues involved, of which perhaps John himself saw only a part, he saw nothing. Yet John was still his brother. Neither could keep his resentment for long; and when at last they felt themselves, like 'poor Anacreon', grown old, they drew together once more; each of them caught a smile from his Saviour, and dropped into eternity.

The study of these 100 letters rouses as much interest in the recipient as in the writer. It is easy to see in Charles, through the four score years of his life, the younger brother, sensitive, self-assertive, opinionated, high-spirited, impulsive, with the enthusiasm of the schoolboy and the dreaminess of the visionary; one who looked for an independence that he never really desired and could never have accepted, but whose warm and affectionate nature expended itself in his relations with his brother and his wife, and still more in the immense body of hymns, devotional poems and elegies in which his soul found its most genuine expression. He might be tempted at times to hitch his star to a wagon; but he knew in his heart that he was a poet and not an ecclesiastical statesman. He seldom questioned and never finally opposed any step that John took, administrative or doctrinal, whether after consultation or without it. And when, in 1780, John published what was intended to be the official hymn-book of the societies, the hymns being almost entirely by Charles, their author does not

the
few
the
'no
too
ere.
in
ink
joy
her
the
ost
ced
nts,
eir
in
hn
ves
rat
ny
by
'e,
ge
no
he
la.
of
ill
ey
e;
in
fe,
d,
he
ad
ed
se
st
n;
n.
k,
n,
ne
ot

appear to have said a word either against the selecting or the editing. Silence may be quite as eloquent as speech or writing.

When we turn to the writer of the letters, we find John using a freedom, and a restraint, which he used to no one else. He and his brother lived in a world of their own of which they alone had the key. Charles had his Sarah; John had hoped to have his Grace, and he had his Molly. But the frankness and confidence remained, a frankness which would have been impossible had either ever seriously feared a break. In these letters John never asked himself, 'How will this strike the reader?' He knew. Sometimes the reply would be either peevish or petulant—now a dash of ill-temper, now surprise and indignation. John might complain, 'Why did you not tell me? Why will you not work with me?' He would tell Mrs Fletcher, 'I have no sharer, even my brother.' But no disappointment caused by his brother's words or actions was ever reflected or hinted at in his other letters or his *Journals*. Wisely or unwisely, when he had made up his mind to do what he knew would anger his brother, as in his marriage and his ordinations, he did not tell Charles till afterwards. The storm arose and passed. Every one of his earlier friends left him or was taken from his side; and of Charles he might sometimes ask, 'Will you also go away?' But such a desertion was the one thing he was never really afraid of. They were both too sure of the Church, of its Head, and of the work to which He had called them. And it is not too much to say that as the years passed on, and Charles, in his changed circumstances, might have lost faith or interest in his Methodism, he was kept firm by the quiet confidence and affection—thoughts lying too deep for words—that breathed through his brother's letters. 'Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death they were not divided.'

When no other note is given, the Roman figure indicates the number of the volume in Telford's edition of John Wesley's *Letters*, and the Arabic figure the pages. The references to John Wesley's *Journals* are to Curnock's Standard Edition, November 1909 to November 1916; the references to Charles Wesley's *Journals* are to the 1849 edition, 2 volumes, edited by Thomas Jackson; reprinted.

¹ J.W.'s *Journal*, III.393f.

¹⁸ I.337.

² C.W.'s *Journal*, II.55.

¹⁹ II.29ff. (to a Clerical Friend).

³ *Ibid.*, II.56.

²⁰ III.95, 112.

⁴ J.W.'s *Journal*, III.394.

²¹ III.132.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI.340n, 345n.

²² IV.199.

⁶ J.W.'s *Journal*, III.439.

²³ VI.82.

⁷ Moore's *Life of Wesley*, II.167.

²⁴ VII.174.

⁸ C.W.'s *Journal*, II.78.

²⁵ VII.21f.

⁹ C.W.'s *Journal*, II.78: cf. *ibid.* p.72.

²⁶ *Vid. supra*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II.79.

²⁷ VII.284f.

¹¹ J.W.'s *Journal*, V.399.

²⁸ VII.289.

¹² IV.162.

²⁹ VII.326.

¹³ V.19ff.

³⁰ VII.330.

¹⁴ V.270.

³¹ VII.331ff.

¹⁵ V.330.

³² VII.270.

¹⁶ III.136.

³³ VII.288f.

¹⁷ I.322.

³⁴ VII.284f.

PREACHING CHURCH HISTORY

John Foster

The lecture given at Handsworth College Commemoration, 6th November 1959

THE PREACHER BEGAN his children's address by saying: 'Today is Whit-Sunday. It is also the 150th anniversary of the birth of Hans Andersen. I wondered which I would talk to you about.' Having listened to many a children's address, I did not wonder. The fairy tale wins every time. I confess to similar guilt in my younger days—an amusing story, a doggerel rhyme, animal imitations, an 'object lesson' with something produced conjuror-wise from the cassock pocket. All had some moral implication, but not so much gospel as would cover a sixpence. Last Sunday I began my children's address: 'Church—what does it mean?' And from 'Church' we went to 'Kirk', old English *Kirche*, Greek *Kuriakon*, and 'the Lord's house' carried us back to Jacob saying his prayers at Bethel, where there was no house at all, and to Jesus aged twelve singing Psalm 122, 'I was glad when they said unto me', as the company of pilgrims wound its uphill way to Jerusalem. Church—how often it is left out not only from children's addresses, but from our sermons and from sermon illustrations. I heard one minister say: 'I read more plays and novels than theology, because they give me better illustrations.' But what have dramatist and fiction writer to offer compared with the factual store of the Church historian?

Is it that we are so much occupied with denomination, the part, that we seldom look beyond it to the one holy catholic and apostolic Church, the whole to which being a Christian in any of our several traditions should surely make us claim to belong? A minister told me of his new circuit—a morning too snowy for the car—a long tramp there, and not even the offer of a hot drink before the trudge back again: 'And that's not Methodist!' he exclaimed. He seemed startled when I corrected him: 'You mean it's not *Christian*.' Romanists habitually call themselves 'catholics', when they should say 'catholic *Christians*'. Some of us are as bad. We do preach Methodism—or I hope we do. For surely that Revival two hundred years ago marked a return to *individual* experience of religion ('I felt my heart . . .'), something without which the Church is cold and dead. But to the Church itself belong not two hundred years but almost two thousand, and this history is ours, all of it, or we have forgotten our inheritance.

To have spent almost half one's ministry in a non-Christian land is a corrective to excessive denominationalism, not only because what matters there is the difference between Christian and non-Christian, but also because denominational labels never look so tawdry as when, lifted out of their historic context, they are translated (for example) into Chinese:

Quakers become something indistinguishable from a friendly society. Presbyterians might be mistaken for the assembly of village elders. Congregationalists, after suffering for years the indignity of a transliteration *Kong-Kay-Shun*, now endure a name which means 'publicly administered society'. Methodists

on the other hand do better than they ought. The nickname once shouted after them by Oxford undergraduates is unrecognizable when too faithfully translated, the preposition *meta* and the noun *hodos*, into 'followers of the Way', which sounds like an apostolic succession from Acts 9₂. Baptists say what they mean, 'Immerse-believers society', and Lutherans are equally distinctive with 'Faith-righteousness society'—yet how far from giving any real idea of the Church!

You would expect Anglicans to fare best, and they tried to. They boldly took three words, *Shing Kung Hui*. They dare not translate back into English, so the Archbishop of Canterbury has to try to speak of his Communion in Chinese. The three words mean nothing less than 'holy catholic Church'. I felt it my duty to point out to my friend the Bishop of Hong Kong that the Anglicans among my Chinese divinity students did not realize (so who in their congregations would?) that when they recited the creed they were doing anything more than affirming loyalty to their Anglican denomination. So we had the creed altered—I mean its Cantonese version, by the addition of a conjunction, 'I believe in the holy *and* catholic Church', to demonstrate the difference. The Church beyond the churches is that to which we all belong.

Do you preach about it, or, preaching about other subjects, do you, by affirmation, exposition, and illustration, turn men's thoughts to the succession in which they stand? I frequently use as a class prayer (classes do so begin in the Divinity Faculties of Scottish Universities): 'Help us O Lord so to know that to which we are heirs that we may enter into the fulness of our inheritance.'

I have been assigned 'Lift up your hearts' in Advent. My turn has come twice in recent years at All-Saints-tide. Then, of course, there was no doubt about it—I took a saint a day and spoke of our inheritance. This time the B.B.C. said, 'Do what you like.' And my first thought, even in Advent, was this: We shall call the week's series: 'Jesus Comes', and on Monday look at His coming through the eyes of Justin, who, though it was in Rome that he was executed as an agent of this illegal propaganda, was himself born in Palestine. 'There is a cave', he recalls, 'near the village where Jesus was born, thirty-five stadia (four miles) from Jerusalem' (*I Apology*, 34, and *Dialogue with Trypho*, 78). Notice that before 150 the stable is a cave, the cave which Helen, Mother of Constantine, covered with a church (its foundations were disclosed a few years ago), the cave that you still go down to under the high altar of the church as Justinian rebuilt it, the Church of the Nativity whose bells we often hear on the air at Christmas time. And that Justin should know it is no more surprising than that I should know the birthplace of David Livingstone. Justin was about as near to our Lord in both space and time. His testimony outside the New Testament somehow makes it more real.

On Tuesday, we shall look at His coming as seen by the Greek writer Aristides (*Apology*, 15) about 150:

The Christians trace their line from the Lord Jesus Christ. He is confessed to be the Son of the most high God, who came down from heaven by the Holy Ghost, and was born of a Virgin, and took flesh, and in a daughter of Man there dwelt the Son of God. This is taught in the Gospel, only recently preached among them. Read, and you will see the power that is in it! . . . They who still serve the righteousness of His preaching are called Christians, and they are well known. . . . As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive; and

thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodness of God towards them, lo! on account of them there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number who have found the truth.

That is what happens to those who acknowledge His coming—'there flows forth the beauty that is in the world'.

On Wednesday, we shall consider His coming as seen by Tertullian of Carthage, about the year 190. A lawyer, gifted with powers of reasoning and an elegant Latin style, this is how he declared it:

Your philosophers say that there is *reason* behind the way the universe was made. Zeno calls this reason Fate, the mind of God, and universal Law. Cleanthes sums it all up in Spirit which (he affirms) pervades the universe. And so say we: God is Spirit. And God's reason finds expression in the Word. And the Word of God comes from God to us. When a ray comes from the sun, the sun is in the ray, but its coming does not diminish the sun. It is an extension, light from light, Spirit from Spirit, God from God. . . . This ray of God came down into a Virgin, and, in her womb fashioned into flesh, is born, man mingled with God. The flesh informed by Spirit is nourished, grows to manhood, teaches, acts—is *Christ* (*Apology*, 21).

Thursday, 17th December, happens to be the festival of St Ignatius. That Bishop of Antioch carries our minds back to the beginning of St Paul's Gentile Mission from that Church half a century before. Like St Paul (in 64), Ignatius (in 110) is to die a martyr in Rome. He is on his way there, chained to a squad of soldiers—leopards, he calls them. 'They grow worse for kind treatment; I am fighting with beasts by land and sea, night and day.' He will soon be facing real beasts in the Colosseum. He had heard that some are saying that our Lord's humanity was not real. If really God, He couldn't be really man. Listen to this strained voice, saying of everything from Bethlehem to Calvary, real, real, real—real enough to die for:

Jesus Christ, child of Mary, was truly born, and ate and drank, was truly crucified and died, was also truly raised from the dead. . . . But if as these say, he suffered in semblance only—but it is *they* who are a semblance!—why am I in bonds? Why do I pray that I may fight with wild beasts? In that case I should be dying for naught (*Trallians*, 9, 10).

Friday will, I think, be the day for St Irenaeus. I shall quote him in another illustration, so here we will pass him by.

On Saturday we shall think of His coming as declared in the *Epistle to Diognetus* (c. 130). Was this elegant Greek essay dedicated to the Diognetus who was tutor to young Marcus Aurelius? It is an exposition of the Logos doctrine, that bridge between Greek and Christian thinking from St John's Gospel onwards, and a bridge for oriental philosophers today:

Truly God Himself, almighty, all-creating and invisible, Himself from heaven has sent the Truth and the Word, holy and incomprehensible, and set Him firm in our hearts. He did not, as man might have guessed, send some attendant, or angel, or ruler, or one of those who manage earth's affairs, or of those entrusted with the administration of heaven, but the Artificer Himself, the Creator of all things, by Whom He enclosed the sea in its proper bounds, Whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe, through Whom the sun received the measure of the daily course he keeps, Whose call to shine at night the moon obeys. . . . Him sent He to them. Was it then,

as human reckoning might have it, in despotism and fear and terror? No indeed, but in gentleness and meekness, as a King He sent His Kingly Son. He sent Him as God, sent Him as Man to men. As saving He sent, as persuading, and not to force. For force does not belong to God. As calling, He sent, not pursuing. As loving He sent, not judging. For He shall send Him judging, and who shall stand His coming?

What a sermon there for this season of Advent!

As with the Incarnation, so with the work of Christ—the atonement, justification, regeneration, sanctification, the Christian experience of all this, and the joy of its assurance. All can be reaffirmed through that which has come down to us from the Church Fathers. Too often we bid our people take our exposition of the New Testament and apply it to their own lives, without having shown them these things *going on from the New Testament* in the life of the Early Church.

The Early Church itself began by having only the Scriptures of the Jews, but Christians preached from the Old Testament by pointing to Christ as its fulfilment. You preach from the New Testament, but there are many passages which you ought to preach from by pointing to Church history as their fulfilment. Here are a few examples:

1. *John 21_{18,19}*: our Lord's words to Peter:

When thou shalt be old . . . another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. Now this he spake, signifying by what manner of death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me.

I advise you to keep clear of the *Quo Vadis?* legend—it has a tainted Gnostic source—but have you ever turned up the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, and his evidence that St Peter *was* crucified in Rome and buried on the Vatican Hill, and the description, in the *Annals of Tacitus*, of the wild persecution in the year 64, when it probably happened?

Nero turned the suspicions of arson against a class of people hated for their abominations, who are commonly called Christians. Christ, from whom their name derives, was executed by the governor Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. Checked for the moment, this pernicious superstition broke out again. . . .

(There, unwittingly, is non-Christian testimony to the Resurrection.)

. . . not only in Judaea, the source of the evil, but even in Rome. . . . Arrests were made and an immense multitude was convicted, not indeed of arson but of hatred of the human race. Mocking of every sort accompanied their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts they were worried to death by dogs. Some, doomed to the flames, lit up the night when daylight failed. For Nero had thrown open his gardens for the show, and mixed with the people disguised as a charioteer. Some were nailed to crosses. . . .

There goes St Peter. 'Jesus saith unto him, Follow me.'

2. *2 Timothy 4₆*: St Paul in prison:

I am already being offered up and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the good fight. I have finished the course.

Fill it out with those words written c. 96 by Clement of Rome, saying how he did finish:

Seven times he was persecuted; he was exiled; he was stoned. He was a herald both in the east and in the west and won noble fame for his Faith. He taught the whole world righteousness, came to the limit of the west. . . .

(That projected journey is mentioned in Romans 15₂₄, so it is not surprising that news of its fulfilment too should come from the Church in Rome.)

. . . bore witness before the rulers, and so passed from this world and was received up into the holy place, having become the greatest pattern of endurance.

3. *Philippians 4₂₂*: an earlier letter from prison:

All the saints (Church members) salute you, especially they that are of Caesar's household.

Christians in Caesar's household about the year 60? 'Household' includes slaves and in the imperial household their number may have amounted to four figures. A colleague, expert in Roman history, tells me that it might include the whole civil service administration. I have long treasured a photograph of the *graffito* discovered in Rome nearly a century ago. I had it printed on the jacket of one of my recent books, *After the Apostles*—a simple drawing which anyone could copy or enlarge if he wanted to use it. It was found in the *Domus Gelotiana*, a mansion on the Palatine Hill, which was incorporated into the Palace of the Caesars in the reign of Tiberius (which means the time of Christ), and used to house court pages. These lads caricatured one another on the plaster of the walls. One drawing is of a youth, surely one of their number, at worship. His hand is raised in salutation to a figure with arms outspread. Look again, and you will see they are stretched out on a cross. The figure has an ass's head. They are turning our Lord's birth in a stable into the blasphemy which we find current in the second century, 'begotten-of-an-ass'.¹ It might even be first century. Underneath is scrawled, 'Alexamenos worships god'. Alexamenos was one 'of Caesar's household'. Turn to Philippians 3₁₉₋₂₁:

Many are enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is perdition. But our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory.

Is that another fulfilment?

4. *The Book of the Revelation*

Preach one day from Revelation 2₁₀:

Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee the crown of life.

This was written to the church at Smyrna, about the year 95. Tell them that fifteen years later that church turned out to welcome Ignatius Bishop of Antioch on his way to a martyr's crown. Then give them that vivid eye-witness account, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, of the year 155 when the mob got out of hand and the governor arrested the aged Bishop of Smyrna and demanded a public recantation:

Eighty-six years have I served Him, and He has never let me down. How can I blaspheme my King who saved me?

Do it on the Sunday after 26th January, his festival, one of the earliest saint's-days to be mentioned. For at the end of the account it says:

We will gather with joy and gladness to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, to remember those who have fought before, and to train them who shall fight hereafter.

The last two phrases might be taken as expressing one's aim in preaching Church history.

The Revelation should give you many sermons. Don't leave it to the Millenarians (a nuisance in St Augustine's day), or British Israel, the Kensitites, Jehovah's Witnesses, or other peculiar people. There is historic fact behind its awful imagery. The beast with seven heads, and the evil witch of a woman astride it, 'Mother of harlots, drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus', is the City of Seven Hills under the rule of Domitian. 'Full of names of blasphemy' refers to the fact that this Emperor demanded to be called *Dominus et Deus noster*. How strongly The Revelation connects with the other Johannine literature, for all its difference of style! Here is the climax of St John's Gospel (20₂₈), St Thomas's adoring cry, 'My Lord and my God', in hideous parody. Blasphemy indeed—the Antichrist! And among the martyrs of Jesus was Titus Flavius Clemens, first cousin to the Emperor himself, his wife Domitilla suffering banishment, and giving from her landed property the oldest graveyard of the Roman Church, in use from this very time.

The Revelation's choruses of triumph, e.g. that in 11₁₉, 'We give thee thanks, because thou hast taken thy power and dost reign', we read with real meaning as we recall Christians condemned to death by the judge, making the simple response, 'Thanks be to God', and those who recorded their death dating the event—

In the Proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, but in the reign of the eternal King.

5. John 14₁₂, our Lord's promise about 'greater works than these'.

Much of the above concerns death, but there are vast areas of life to which, from the limited environment of His earthly ministry (three years, in a land not half the size of Scotland), our Lord lays claim. And we can see those claims fulfilled. Why, even Origen, only two centuries after, declared he could:

He promised His disciples that they should do even greater works than His. This too has been fulfilled. For always there are being opened the eyes of those blind in soul. The ears of those deaf to virtue hear gladly of God and of the blessed life with Him. Many too who were lame in the feet of the inner man, now healed by the Word, do not only leap like the hart . . . but receive from Jesus strength to trample upon sin and upon all the power of the enemy' (*Contra Celsum*, 2₄₈).

Of the ongoing mighty acts of God—for His they are—we know more than Origen, fifty-six generations more, *continents* more. 'Ye are the light of the world'—Christians have truly gone to its darkest places. 'Ye are the salt of the earth'—the Church has saved some areas of life from going bad. 'Leaven in a measure of meal until it is all leavened'—the Church's failures are talked about enough; preach of the Church's greater works. All this (and much more beside) is fulfilment.

Another line is continuity. Is there evidence of a continuing work of Christ? When St Paul says, 'And last of all, he appeared to me also' (1 Cor 15₈), he

means that his name is at the bottom of the list, not that the list itself is complete. Why not take, with that text, Hebrews 13₈, 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday and today, yea and for ever', and show from history that He is? A man's own words are best, but here I will shorten my quotations, suggesting an outline instead of preaching a whole sermon:

1. *The Damascus road. The year 33. Saul, a Jew*

'Why persecutest thou me?' 'Who art thou, Lord?'
'I am Jesus whom thou persecutest'.

Saul the persecutor became Paul the Apostle.

2. *Ephesus. 150. Justin, a Greek*

A student of philosophy, finding satisfaction in Plato, he met an old man who introduced him to the Old Testament prophets and to Jesus Christ as their fulfilment.

A fire was straightway kindled in my breast and there held me fast love for the prophets and for those men who are the friends of Christ (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 8).

Justin the seeker became an agent of this propaganda, till he was caught and beheaded for it in 165, Justin the Martyr.

3. *Carthage. 245. Cyprian, a Roman*

An aristocrat, wealthy, learned, respected, but a moral weakling:

I did not believe I could win free. So I got into the way of excusing my clinging vices. . . . Then came the waters of baptism. I was a different man. What in me had wavered now stood firm. Dark places shone. What I had deemed impossible, I could do (*Ad Donatum*, 3, 4).

Cyprian the weakling became Cyprian Bishop, Saint, and Martyr.

4. *Milan. 387. Augustine, another Roman*

Another weakling, in despair at his own gross sexual sins. A child's voice in a neighbouring garden—"Take up and read!" A New Testament in his hand opened at Romans 13₁₄:

'Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.' No further would I read. I did not need to. My heart was flooded with the light of peace. All the shadows of doubt fled away (*Confessions*, 8).

St Augustine is the greatest of the Latin Fathers.

5. *Majorca. 1263. Ramon Lull, a Spaniard*

A dissolute young courtier, he was composing a love-song for the girl who was his latest plaything. Gazing into space—he saw eyes looking back at him:

Our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross, gazing in great agony and sorrow. . . . The best years of my youth were spent in sin, but now I give Thee what is left of myself and all I have.

He gave life itself. A missionary to Muslims in North Africa, he was stoned to death in 1315.

6. *London. 1738. John Wesley, an English clergyman*

I felt my heart strangely warmed.

Half a century of life-changing followed on a scale seldom seen before, changing the whole state of religion in Britain and America and far beyond.

7. *Glasgow, 1889. John White, a Scot*

I knew him, but only in mellow old age. Once a law student in this University, he found no answer to his religious doubts.

It came to me in a flash. I got moral certainty instead of defective logical proof. I met a Man. Without Him, I would still be groping.

There speaks the greatest figure in the Church of Scotland in the last 100 years.

These are all Western, so let us turn to East Asia.

8. *Chang-sha, China, 1905. Cheng Pao-Swen*

I knew her too, but not till she was middle-aged, the greatest aristocrat I have ever called friend, descendant after 75 generations of the favourite disciple of Confucius 500 years before Christ. A schoolgirl, taught by an ordinary C.M.S. woman missionary, she says:

I wondered how so simple a religion could produce such choice personalities, while the overworked moral teaching of Confucius failed to get rid of China's shams and falsehoods. Then I found Jesus.

She is His disciple, founder of a famous school, and the influence behind hundreds of Chinese Christian women today.

And lest these should all seem too intellectual and privileged, let us finally turn to South India.

9. *Dornakal. 1938. Bishop Azariah*

First Indian to be an Anglican Bishop, I heard him tell of one of his outcaste Christians, asked by a caste Hindu, who was laughing at him, 'Have you ever seen your God?'

Sir, you knew me two years ago. I was a drunkard. You know me now. I do not think I should have had all this change if I had not seen Jesus Christ.

'Jesus Christ the same'! Yes, there is evidence, in every century, in every country of the world, if you will use it.

Continuity applies to much else besides Christian experience. Worship, prayer, and sacraments begin in the New Testament, and continue. I hope you preach on the sacraments, both of them. When you preach on baptism, remember Tertullian's vivid little picture about the year 190. He makes a play on the anagram from the initials (in Greek) of 'Jesus Christ God's Son Saviour'. These are I. Ch. Th. U.S., which happens to spell the Greek word for 'fish', and accounts for the sign of the fish often used in the Early Church:

We little fishes, like our *Ichthus*, Jesus Christ, come to life in the water. The way to kill little fishes is to take them out (*De Baptismo*, 1).

He means, 'Forget your Christian baptism and you are done'.

And when you preach on Holy Communion, tell them of Justin's exposition of the Eucharist:

We do not receive this as common bread or common wine, but just as Jesus Christ our Saviour, by Word of God was made flesh, and had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that this food, blessed by prayer of words from Him (the words of institution) is flesh and blood of the Jesus who was made flesh (*I Apology*, 66).

There is the real Presence and a real communion with Him. And he ends his description of the service:

And after this, we always keep reminding one another of it, and those who have, contribute to the help of all who are in need, and we always keep together.

His real Presence—and a real communion with one another. This is the succession in which we stand when *we* do this in remembrance of Him.

I preach Church History all the time. All my illustrations are from there. I suppose, after teaching the subject for 33 years, I do not know much else. You may suspect my preaching as therefore less biblical. So let me end with one of my favourite figures, St Irenaeus.

One reason for telling our people about the second-century Church is that, while it is conscious of its link with the Apostles, that link is no longer direct. The Apostolic Age is unique, never to be repeated. By the second century the whole Church has settled into the position described in 2 Peter 1, 'Whom *not having seen* ye love'. Irenaeus is the personification of this transition. He was brought up in Smyrna, one of the seven Churches of Revelation 1, at the feet of the aged Polycarp, who himself had been the pupil of John. Irenaeus says he remembers it better than the happenings of yesterday, and can still see the old Bishop sitting there:

He used to talk away of his intercourse with John and the rest of those who had seen the Lord, of what they said, of this and that which he heard from them about the Lord, His mighty works, His teaching. The mercy of God was upon me and I used to listen eagerly, noting these things for remembrance not on paper, but in my very heart (*Eusebius E.H.*, 5₂₀).

Then he left Greek-speaking Smyrna and came to Lyons in Latin-speaking Gaul. Latin-speaking? He learned a Celtic language so as to preach to the native population. It is coming nearer to us. Yes, but it is getting farther away from the Lord. In Lyons they heard Irenaeus, who in Smyrna had heard Polycarp, who had heard John of Ephesus, who in Palestine had known the Lord. The line gets thinner, the testimony weakens. Does it? Listen to Irenaeus:

This preaching the Church, though scattered in the whole world, guards as if it lived in one house; believes as if it had but one mind; preaches and teaches as if it had but one mouth. And although there are different languages in the world, the force of the tradition is one and the same (*Against Heresies*, 1, 10).

What Polycarp heard, we can hear and do hear. That is that the New Testament is. It contains the testimony of eye-witnesses. It goes everywhere, and it stands for ever.

¹ Tertullian tells of a professional gladiator who raised a laugh in the arena by marching in with Christian prisoners carrying such a picture and the words *onococites*, which seems (in Greek) to mean 'ass-begotten'. See also *Ad Nationes*, 14, also *Apology*, 16.

HOW METHODISM RELEASED SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL POWERS IN SWEDEN

Arne-Jacob Kristoffersen

ALTHOUGH THE Methodist Church in Sweden is one of the smallest Free-Churches in membership in the country, it is one of the more important ones. Methodism has possessed a spiritual power which has sought out and unveiled the hidden forces in the nation's spiritual life, and has thus released some of the greatest religious and cultural powers in Sweden. It is about Methodism as a medium in the spiritual regeneration of the country that I wish to write.

Methodism has had three points of contact with Sweden in modern time. The first was through John Wesley himself, both through his authorship, and through his personal contact with the first Chaplain in King Adolf Frederik's (1710-71) court, Dr C. G. Wrangel. John Wesley urged Dr Wrangel to work for Christendom and for the spread of the Christian Faith. This resulted in the founding of a society in 1771 in Stockholm for Christian faith which received the name *Pro fide et Christianismo*. This society is still active.

The second contact that the Swedes have had with Methodism was at the beginning of the last century. The English civil engineer Samuel Owen (1774-1854) came to Stockholm to help to build up the Swedish Steamboat industry. He is counted as the father of the Swedish Steamfleet and Machine Workshops, and exercised his useful activity in Stockholm from 1809 to 1843. Samuel Owen was a Wesleyan Methodist, as were the workers he got from England to Stockholm for the new industry. These Methodists requested that they might have their own minister and counsellor, so Owen wrote to the Wesleyan Mission Board in England and asked for a pastor. The result of this petition was that the Rev. Josef R. Stephens came to Stockholm in 1826. The Methodist meetings were held on the property of His Excellency Carl deGeer. Pastor Stephens was, however, called back to England in 1830.

As his successor came the young and fiery twenty-six-year-old Dr George Scott (1804-74) in 1830. He was born in Scotland. To start with he kept only to the English Methodists and was their minister. He began, however, from the year 1831 to preach in Swedish also. This resulted in a revival in Stockholm. After a while a reaction came against this enthusiastic Methodist preacher and his great progress. He had to leave Sweden in 1842 after a great campaign against him led by the liberal press. This campaign was successful because of *Konventikelplakatet*, a law which came into force in 1726 in order to guard the Church against heresies. It prohibited lay people to preach or gather together in private homes for religious meetings, and was not repealed until 1858. There is a happy ending to the story, for when Dr Scott visited Sweden for the last time in the summer of 1859 he was honoured and was given the place beside the Archbishop of Sweden in a procession in the church.

Among the men that were converted through Dr Scott's ministry were, among others, Carl Olof Rosenius, Anders Wiberg and Carl Ludvig Tellström. When Dr Scott had to leave Sweden in 1842, the leadership of the revival in

Stockholm was taken over by Rosenius, who also edited a paper called *Pietisten* which bound the awakened and the converted together. Carl Olof Rosenius (1816-68) became one of the great revivalist preachers in Sweden and founded in 1856 *Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen*, a Low Church movement which remained within the Swedish Church or kept contact with it. This movement has received ineffaceable impressions from Methodism, as for example the optimistic, happy, active elements in Christianity and the preaching of love. These elements one finds both in Rosenius' hymns and in the hymns of Lina Berg Sandell who was the psalm-writer of the movement. She has written some much-loved hymns which are still used in Sweden. One can see that it was the Methodist influence that had this happy effect if one compares this movement with the revival started by the Swedish minister in Lund, Henrik Schartau (1757-1813), and the Schartauanistic movement on the Swedish west coast. This type of piety is darker, heavier, more conservative, more passive, less optimistic and happy than the above mentioned movement which was influenced by Methodism.

Indirectly Methodism played a part in releasing the revival in Karusuando in Swedish Lapland, which was led by the Swedish minister Lars Levi Laestadius. He had been led to a living faith and received God's forgiveness through Lappin Marja, who had herself been converted through the Methodistic-Rosenianistic revival. Laestadianism is one of the most interesting religious movements in Northern Sweden, N. Norway and N. Finland. It is strong in preaching conversion which, when it takes place, is followed by expressions of Christian happiness and spiritual excitement, *liikutuksia*.

After the death of Rosenius in 1868, the Swedish minister and lecturer Paul Peter Waldenström took over the leadership. He disagreed with Rosenianism over the question of Holy Communion and he maintained the principle of the believers' congregations. A break came in 1878, when he, together with half of the members of the *Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen*, founded *Svenska Missionsförbundet*, the Swedish Covenant Church.

The Rev. Anders Wiberg (1816-87) was also converted through Dr Scott's ministry. He was ordained in the Lutheran ministry in 1843 and worked in *Hälsingland*. In 1850 he resigned from the State Church and went abroad; he joined up with the Baptists in 1852. After three years in America he returned to Stockholm in 1855 and became the founder of the Baptist community in Sweden. Thus Methodism played a part also in the beginning of the Baptist Church in Sweden and called forth its leader.

Carl Ludvig Tellström, who was also won for God through Methodism, became the missionary among the Lapps. The Methodist mission spirit had found another channel through which it could stream.

Methodism also released a religious-cultural movement in Sweden which goes under the name of *Nykterhetsrörelsen*, the Abstinence Movement. It began in 1830 with Dr Scott. In 1837 *Svenska Nykterhetsselskapet*, the Swedish Abstinence Society, was founded. One of its great figures was the Swedish Dean and Docent Peter Wieselgren (1800-77). He said: 'We have the Methodists to thank for the unconquerable fight which is now going on in our country against drunkenness.'

The third contact that Methodism has had in Sweden was not made from

England, but from the U.S.A. As mentioned before, *Konventikelplakatet* was abolished in 1858, and not long after that it was legal to found Free-Church congregations in Sweden. In 1868 the Methodist Church in Sweden was founded, and it adapted an episcopal form of government as in America. It was the congregations in Stockholm and Gothenburg which were founded first. Two of the leading ministers at that time were A. Sederholm and Victor Witting. With the founding of the Methodist Church the Methodist work was established and organized. The Church has sailed forward under changing conditions in the Swedish Kingdom to blessing and inspiration.

Before I leave the subject I ought to mention that there is still another field where Methodism meant a renewal in Sweden. That is in the field of preaching, where Methodism has established a highly valued tradition. It was the Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931) who said to his students of theology in Uppsala when he was professor at the University: 'If you want to learn to preach, go to the Methodist Church. That is what I did!'

Recent Literature

EDITED BY R. NEWTON FLEW

Passion for Souls: The Story of Charles H. Hulbert, Methodist Missioner, by Kenneth Hulbert. (Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.)

This book will be found to have an appeal to both ministers and laymen. It may be warmly commended to ministers as giving a fresh concrete presentation of evangelism at its best and as illustrating and enforcing the slogan 'Every minister his own evangelist', for here is seen one who throughout some fifty years in circuit chapel, city mission hall and in the open air used the gospel with effective regenerating power. Readers not in the separated ministry may be attracted by the fact that the author is a London physician and surgeon and that he speaks from the standpoint and with the language of a layman. At the same time Mr Kenneth Hulbert is able to state that his father during later years bequeathed to him in intimate talks 'the record of his stewardship'. It would be an admirable exercise in that religious partnership which is called for by the Westminster Laymen's Movement if ministers and laymen could together read and discuss this vivid narrative of the origins, process and results of soul-winning. In a full appraisement of the forces that went to the building up of the rich personality of C. H. Hulbert, the theological class referred to on p.14, conducted by a Manchester business man, Thomas Willshaw, which drew a membership of over 100 young men, must be recognized as perhaps the greatest influence exerted upon him in his most impressionable and formative years.

W. E. FARNDALE

A Christian Theology of the Old Testament, by G. A. F. Knight. (Student Christian Movement Press, 30s.)

The striking title of this book is far less polemical today than it would have been earlier in the century, for recent discussion has shown a greater realization that it is only the believer who can understand the real message of the scriptures. In his introduction Mr Knight makes his position plain. 'This Theology is written with the deliberate presupposition . . . that the Old Testament is nothing less than Christian Scripture.' He recognizes, however, that this does not mean that Christ will be found on every page, but rather that the God who reveals Himself in the events which the Old Testament describes and interprets is the same God who made Himself fully known in the New. Thus apart from the introduction and a useful appendix on Israel and the Church the specific viewpoint expressed in the title is not brought into undue prominence. The plan of the book is unusual. Four main parts deal with God, God and Creation, God and Israel, and The Zeal of the Lord. Emphasis is laid throughout on Hebraic phraseology and psychology and the metaphors used by the Old Testament writers. This is in line with the writer's earlier monograph on the Biblical Approach to the Doctrine of the Trinity. To give but one example out of many, it is rightly pointed out that the Hebrew verb 'to be' means rather 'to become', and from this important facts about the God who revealed Himself to Moses as 'I become what I become' or even 'I shall become what I shall become' are drawn. But ought such weight to be laid on what may not be more than a coincidence of language? Even if this is allowed in so central a feature as the divine name should this be extended so widely as is done in this book? The crucial question here is whether the fact of election means that the peculiarities of the language of Canaan and the thought forms of the Hebrews are a central part of the revelation. In conclusion, two things may be said. In detail important observations are made, highly significant questions underlying the fact of revelation and the writing of Old Testament theology are raised, and a lively interest

is maintained, but the overall picture is less clear. Secondly, although Mr Knight claims that the book is written in non-technical language as far as possible, a considerable knowledge of the Old Testament would seem to be needed before the full value of this book will be appreciated.

CYRIL S. RODD

The Buddha's Philosophy, by G. F. Allen. (Allen & Unwin, 25s.) *Buddhist Scriptures*, by E. Conze. (Penguin, 3s. 6d.)

The widespread and growing interest in the non-Christian religions, inside and outside the churches, is a fact which theologians and preachers ignore at their peril. Books on all manner of faiths pour from the presses and a popular Pelican on Buddhism has sold hundreds of thousands of copies. Here are two books from the tiny but influential band of European Buddhists who bring the challenge of that faith into our own land. G. F. Allen has practised as a monk in a Ceylonese monastery, yet he writes for the critical European and his rationalist approach dispenses with many Asian superstitions. Little of factual nature can be known of Gotama, seeing that nothing was written down for about five hundred years after his death and so (differently from Christianity) only a mass of legend surrounds the memory of the founder. But this does not matter very much, for 'there can be no doubt' that a particular philosophy of life came from the most recent of the Buddhas and in the continuing tradition it has been adapted and expanded for human needs. Mr Allen proceeds to a careful examination of Buddhist doctrine, its analysis of life, of the mind, of truth, and then goes on to discuss monastic and lay discipline. He is critical of the majority of books on Buddhism which treat it as a religion, and concentrates more on the 'amoral philosophy of the ascetic Gotama'.

By contrast Dr Conze, whose many works on Buddhism are widely read in this country, attacks the view that Buddhism is 'a purely rational religion, which dispenses with faith' and therefore has a specious appeal to Europeans who are doubtful of the supernatural. From the actual writings of the Buddhists he quotes both legendary and ethical, Jataka tales and Zen techniques. He champions the 'central tradition of Buddhism' and even the wider Mahayana, rather than the narrow Theravada (Hinayana) that is vocal in the West. This Penguin selection of Buddhist scriptures has had an immediate success and soon needed reprinting, rather to the surprise of the publishers, for it is not all easy reading. The first section deals with the Teacher, the Buddha's previous lives and final appearance as Shakyamuni. Then come moral injunctions and doctrinal formulas. The replies to the Questions of King Milinda may appeal more to Europeans than scholastic niceties, and the Zen quotations are from the popular Soto branch rather than the teachings of the Rinzai school so widely publicized by Prof. Suzuki. A glimpse is given of points at issue in doctrinal disputes and finally of some popular eschatology in descriptions of heavens and hells, selections from the Tibetan Book of the Dead and brief prophecies of the Buddha to come. This is a most useful anthology which anyone wishing to brush up knowledge of Buddhism must acquire.

GEOFFREY PARRINDER

The Christology of the New Testament, by Oscar Cullmann. (Student Christian Movement Press, 42s.)

In this book, one of the greatest teachers of our day has embodied the fruits of twenty years' teaching. The subject is the greatest of all, for Dr Cullmann uses Christology 'to comprehend everything which refers to the uniqueness of the person and work of Jesus Christ'. The argument is rooted firmly in the ground laid by the discussion of *Heilsgeschichte* in the author's *Christ and Time*. Like Vincent Taylor before him, Cullmann takes as the data of his investigation the titles of Jesus and examines the precise meaning of each as it appears throughout all the New Testament

books. In doing so he uses something of the method of C. H. Dodd by taking soundings in the various contexts of the terms. The comparison with Taylor's *Names of Jesus* (to which Cullmann makes several references) may mislead. Apart from sheer bulk, there is an important difference. Taylor enumerates 42 names and deals with each briefly and separately, giving, for example, two pages to 'Prophet'. Cullmann, however, limits himself to 10 principle titles and arranges them systematically. First, there are the titles which refer to the earthly work of Jesus—Prophet (40 pages), Servant, High Priest. Second, those referring to the future work—Messiah, Son of Man. Third, those which refer to His present work—Lord, Saviour. And finally those referring to His pre-existence—Word, Son of God, 'God'. Throughout, Cullmann follows 'the proven philological-historical method' of exegesis and determines to be completely objective, 'even when what I hear is sometimes completely foreign, contradictory to my own favourite ideas'. The book is rich in relevant cross-references and footnotes. A vast parade of scholars passes before the reader, sometimes in support, sometimes in opposition. Bultmann, for example, Cullmann now castigates, now cherishes. There is one curious omission. It might have been thought that Cullmann would have considered the important argument of Miss Morna Hooker. It may be that the work was sent for translation (and very good translation too) before her book appeared. Cullmann warns the reader that his book is not one to be dipped into. That may be, only after the discipline of reading the book as a whole and mastering the argument. Few will wish to do otherwise. Once begun, the book compels. For one reader, at least, it has made Christmas 1959 a memorable one—with many a page noted to be dipped into later! Student and preacher alike can afford, for once, to laugh at the two guineas' outlay. The brief conclusion, presents the perspectives of New Testament Christology. The connecting lines appear in the successive titles grouped in relation to *Heilsgeschichte*. Each concept contributes to the total understanding of Jesus' person and work. With new force we are reminded that all Christology is founded upon the life of Jesus; and that the two principal ideas are those of representation and of God's self-communication. *Who is Jesus?* The question, and the answer, do not arise from the experience of the early Church. 'The life of Jesus already provided the starting point of all Christological thought in a double way: in Jesus' own self-consciousness and in the concrete presentiment his person and work evoked among the disciples and the people.'

MARCUS WARD

Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York, by Charles Smyth. (Hodder & Stoughton, 35s.)

The story of Dr Garbett's life is well told and the book presents a rich and full picture of a man of God, diligent and disciplined and withal deeply humble and devout. Interest is sustained throughout but the two closing chapters set forth the man himself in a way almost impossible amidst the record of his manifold activities. The book is definitely Anglican in its outlook. Very little is said anywhere concerning the Free Churches but it is noteworthy that through his visit to Tambaram Missionary Conference of 1937, Garbett's outlook was enlarged. Writing in his diary concerning meetings of the Conference of British Missionary Societies he says, 'These meetings and Tambaram are changing my whole outlook in regard to the Free Churches. I forget that we belong to different Churches and am conscious only of our common Christianity.' He also developed a tremendous admiration for William Paton, of whom he said he would have been an Archbishop had he been an Anglican. Dr Garbett had inherited the Victorian passion for social righteousness inspired by Charles Kingsley and in the dockland parish of Portsea and in the crowded areas of South London he fought the vested interests of the Drink Trade and the slum landlord and to the end of his days was able to speak in the House of Lords as an expert on Housing.

Nor was he afraid to speak with courage on the bombing of Guernica in Spain, or on the annihilation of an Arab village by Israeli partisans. It is illuminating to read the record in his diary of the pain it cost him to speak on the need for Britain's possession of atomic weapons. For twenty-one years Garbett was chairman of the Central Religious Advisory Committee of the B.B.C., and with Lord Reith and the Rev. F. A. Iremonger did much for religious broadcasting. He it was who was primarily responsible for the broadcasting of *A Man Born to be King* which he describes as one of the greatest evangelistic appeals made this century. This brought upon him a barrage of abuse. He had a passion for evangelism but the apparent failure of a parish mission in 1913 opened his eyes to the difficulties of 'communication'. He believed intensely in house to house visitation and in teaching missions and was a hard taskmaster to many of his large staff of curates at Portsea. He, however, never spared himself and they knew it. He worked incessantly from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m., but had the wisdom to take half a day off each week and a whole day once a fortnight. One of the most enheartening things about this book, which quotes extensively from a private diary, is that it is completely lacking in hurtful personal comments. Garbett, says Canon Smyth, was by nature and by grace incapable of jealousy. But Garbett is not set out by any means as perfect. He was intensely shy and reserved, and sometimes extremely irritable. But if he gave offence he could be abject in apology. He suffered much from deep depression but carried on with courage. He was a shrewd judge of men, and having once formed a judgement found it hard to modify it. His relationships with his chaplains were cordial and intimate, and they were encouraged to be critical with him. He was always big enough to seek advice and to take it, as for example from Canon Max Warren of the C.M.S. before speaking on colonial problems in the House of Lords. He mellowed greatly with the years and, as his body weakened, his soul began to shine with new intensity. 'Throughout his life he was in the fullest sense of the word a growing man and he grew by working and by constantly taking on new work which extended his powers beyond their previous range.' This is the record of a great Christian. His own comment on himself is a fitting epitaph, 'What I may have been to the Church has been through the act of God. I have been a weak instrument in His strong hands'.

J. KINGSLEY SANDERS

Evangelical Conversion in Great Britain, 1696-1845, by F. W. B. Bullock. (Budd & Gillatt, 35s.)

Beginning with a valuable little book by N. Dimock, *Conversion* (1856), and including those by Bishop Joost de Blank and Professor Erik Routley (both 1957) a library of books on conversion has been written in the past hundred years. Since the classic days of Starbuck (1899) and James (*Varieties*, 1901-2) the psychological approach has been favoured, and Canon Bullock follows this tradition. His book is marked by full knowledge of the literature of the subject, but its real distinction is in the thirty narratives of conversion which he has selected and given mainly in the language of the persons concerned. Nothing quite like this has been done since Caldecott read his essay on *The Religious Sentiment*, illustrated from *The Lives of Wesley's Helpers* before The Aristotelian Society (c. 1909). Canon Bullock covers a much wider field, and his study is based on documents not readily available. They range from Thomas Halyburton, converted 1698, whose *Memoirs* influenced Charles Wesley at a critical moment, to Catherine Mumford, converted 1845, who married William Booth and was called the Mother of the Salvation Army. John and Charles Wesley and Hugh Bourne are included. It is shown that the Evangelical Movement had its leaders apart from and in some cases earlier than the Wesleys, especially in Wales and Scotland. The formula 'Conversion is an adolescent phenomenon' is rejected. The average age of these conversions is twenty-seven years and two months; they range from sixteen to

forty-two years. Canon Bullock gives a new analysis of the process of conversion, and a new and useful classification of the types of conversion. Reasons are given for the statement that conversion is not the fruit of narrow doctrinal teaching. He criticizes the psychologists who claim that they have explained religion away, and quotes G. A. Studdert-Kennedy's poem, *The Psychologist*, and W. R. Inge's condemnation of J. H. Leuba as blaspheming the Holy Spirit of truth. In the lives of the thirty persons there is the reality of the unseen presence of Christ, and their conversion is known by its fruits. It is remarkable that many of the twenty-eight men became Fellows of Cambridge Colleges: Berridge of Clare, John Cowper of Corpus Christi, Simeon of Kings, Neale of St Johns, Henry Venn a Scholar of Jesus and Fellow of Queens, and Legh Richmond a distinguished scholar at Trinity. Wilberforce, William Cowper and Lady Huntingdon have their own place in literature and history. Here is the sufficient answer to those who imagine that evangelical conversion is associated with inferior intellectual calibre. This book is a notable defence of the Evangelical Movement by a modern Anglican, who is scrupulously fair in his judgement and never over-states his case. The recurring brief summaries in numbered paragraphs seem *staccato* in reading, but they condense an immense amount of exact and careful study. This book should be on our shelves or in the nearest library.

S. G. DIMOND

The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, Volume III: The Letters, edited by J. Manning Potts, Elmer T. Clark, Jacob S. Payton. (Epworth Press and Abingdon Press, 150s. the set.)

It is not usual for the reviewer of a book to refer to the work of another, but it is impossible to avoid this in a review of the third and last volume of the impressive and invaluable edition of Asbury's Journal and Letters. This volume contains the Letters, and J. Hamby Barton, Jr, has pointed out in a recent issue of the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* a considerable number of errors in transcription from the original letters to the present edition. It is necessary to add that the Introduction and comments in the present volume do not reach quite the same high standard of lucidity and conciseness as was found in the first two volumes. But when this is said, it remains true that this work is quite indispensable to any serious student of American religious (or, indeed, secular) history. Most important of all its parts for the English reader is Asbury's account, appearing, of course, in various forms, but remaining substantially the same, of the relation between the British and American Methodist Churches. Here Asbury's letter to Joseph Benson, among the last letters he wrote, takes pride of place. In it he sets out his personal relations with John Wesley, and severely blames Thomas Rankin (Wesley's expert on American affairs) for Wesley's misunderstanding of Asbury's position and loss of confidence in him. Then he defends Wesley against Whitehead's bitter criticism of the ordinations for America, and sturdily maintains that the desire of the American Church for brotherly, but not subordinate, relations with the British Conference was not due to personal or sectarian ambition. Of only slightly less importance is the letter in which he claims that the episcopal system as practised (then, perhaps, rather than now) by American Methodism is closest of all Church Orders to the New Testament. Of less importance, but no less interest, is the letter of Coke, wisely here included, suggesting reunion of the Methodist Church with the Episcopal Church and asserting that Methodist preachers would not object to reordination—to be taken in conjunction with his subsequent retraction, also here included, when the letter became known to his brethren some years later. But this is to neglect the personal interest of the volume, which brings the human Asbury before us not less clearly and more vigorously than the Journal. Perhaps we obtain an especially clear view of the difference of ethos (together with much that is the same) between early Methodism and the modern sort when we read Asbury's constant objections to

married preachers, and his obituary comment on Whatcoat: 'Such a man I never knew in England or America. Who ever saw him laugh, or heard him speak an idle word; unspotted character for forty-seven or eight years.'

RUPERT E. DAVIES

An Archbishop of the Reformation, by Eric E. Yelverton. (Epworth Press, 18s. 6d.) The Church of Sweden is something of a puzzle to both Protestants and Anglo-Catholics. It retains the Apostolic Succession, and has therefore been admitted to communion with the Church of England; but it does not seem to set much store by the Succession, since it is in full communion with non-episcopal reformed Churches, including the Church of Scotland. The clue to this apparent ambiguity is largely provided by the work and personality of Laurentius Petri Nerius, first reformed Archbishop of Uppsala, with whose liturgical projects this book is concerned. Laurentius left a great and permanent impression on the Swedish Church. He was called in by the first independent King of Sweden in 1531 to reform the Church on Lutheran lines, and was consecrated Archbishop by a bishop consecrated by the Pope's authority. In his *Church Order* of 1571 he lays it down that the ordinance of bishops and priests when first put into effect 'was very convenient and without doubt proceeded from God the Holy Spirit', 'was accepted over the whole of Christendom, and hath since so remained, and must remain in future, so long as this world remaineth'. He further indicates that the bishop should 'ordain and govern with the priests'. The *Church Order* does not make explicit reference to the Succession, but its effect was of course that the Succession was retained, and this must have been intended. Yet he did not wish communion with the other Churches of the Augsburg Confession to be broken off. Thus he cannot have thought the ordinance of bishops or the Apostolic Succession to be 'of divine right' in the strict sense, even though its establishment 'proceeded from the Holy Spirit'.

But Laurentius was concerned not only with this, but with the whole ordering of the Church's life, and with the acute problems of the relation of Church and State (in which field he had many severe conflicts with the king who had appointed him and with his successor). Very significant is the gradual adaptation of the Mass to Swedish use. As much as possible of the Roman Mass was retained, and the transition from Latin to the vernacular was only gradually made. But the doctrine of the Church was consistently Lutheran. In all his enterprises Laurentius had the great assistance of his brother Olavus, and it is clear that the two men were as concerned as any Anglican to find a *media via* between Geneva and Rome. Dr Yelverton's book has the great merit of allowing Laurentius to speak for himself. There is a lively account of the stirring events which led to the reform of the Swedish Church, and thereafter we are introduced most objectively to Laurentius' statements and views, with the minimum of commentary and explication. Thus those who cannot master the extensive literature in Swedish on the subject are given an excellent source book for a very important aspect of the Reformation.

RUPERT E. DAVIES

From My New Shelf

BY R. NEWTON FLEW

All the Women of the Bible, by Edith Dean (Independent Press, Memorial Hall, 15s.). This emphatically is a woman's book. Mrs Dean uses her imagination and her undoubted power to paint with words. On p.28 we are introduced to Rachel, and so is Jacob. 'The bright-eyed maiden in her brilliantly coloured and softly draped dress must have been a joy to the homesick Jacob's eyes, for he had been on a long journey by foot, a distance of more than 500 miles.' The dangers of such exegesis have been avoided and Mrs Dean shows due respect for modern scholarship. The book is divided into three sections: the first (pp.1-242) is called 'Searching Studies of Women in the Foreground'; the second, 'Alphabetical Listing of Named Women' (pp.243-304); the third, 'Chronological Listings of Nameless Women in the Background' (pp.305-80). This book will be a source-book for Women's Meetings and deserves a great welcome on that account. Many books have been written upon outstanding women of the Bible, but this book includes women as obscure as Peter's wife of whom nothing is known save that she had a mother 'sick of a fever' whom Jesus healed. Such a comprehensive work has never before been attempted. When Agnes Strickland wrote the *Lives of the Queens of England* she dealt with women of one particular genre. Mrs Dean tells of queens, of dancing girls, of the 'Mother of Harlots' in the Book of the Revelation and of Mary the mother of Jesus 'blessed among women'.

Let Wisdom Judge, University Addresses and Outlines, by Charles Simeon (Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 9s. 6d.). This work is not merely a collection of sermons designed to help preachers alone. It is produced because of its own merits. It contains addresses given before the University of Cambridge and they cover the principal points of belief and practice. . . . His aim was vigorously to present the great central doctrines of Christianity in a manner that all could understand. The fourth address, 'On Justification by Faith Alone', in its rugged simplicity, reaches sublime heights (pp.63-77), and the address on 'The Richness and Fulness of the Gospel' makes its way to a daring dialogue between Jehovah and Adam. But the gem of the whole book is the tenth address: 'The Spirit's Work in Believers.' This was the final sermon of the last course Simeon gave before the University in 1831.

Heirs to Responsibility, by Alfred C. Lamb (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.). The author takes a fresh way of approach to Calvary, Resurrection and Pentecost. He asks us to judge not only what God has done *for us*, but also what God has to do *through us*. 'Are you able to share my sufferings with me?' The answers to this question were not found easily by the disciples and are not found easily today. But they must be found before those disciples are armed for the attempt to save the world. 'Throughout these Meditations I am considering the transfer of responsibility from Jesus of Nazareth to His Church.' The Cleansing of the Temple, The Triumphal Entry, The Upper Room, In Gethsemane: all these are handled with fresh insight and many illustrations which do indeed illuminate. There are twelve other brief chapters all having a modern application.

Smollett and the Scottish School, Studies in Eighteenth-Century Thought, by M. A. Goldberg (U.N.M. Press, Albuquerque). The design of this book is to illuminate the purpose of Smollett as set forth in five novels. The author claims that Smollett has reconciled the contradictory views held by most of his contemporaries and provided a 'common-sense' panacea to the vices and follies of his age.

The Fossils of Piety; Literary Humanism in Decline, by Paul West (Vantage Press, New York, \$2.75). In this book, which contains only 75 pages, the author attempts

with great daring to prove that the Literary Humanism of the last dozen years marks a retreat. André Malraux is chosen as the first example. Sarte, Pavese, Camus follow. The third chapter is headed, 'A sensitive default', and the examples chosen are Hemingway and Ernst Jünger. The fourth deals with authors better known in Great Britain, Santayana, Simone Weil. The ultimate verdict is (p.85): 'They want divine consolations without the surrender which received religion entails.'

Notable Lectures and Re-printed Articles: (1) *Yesterday, Today and For Ever*: by C. K. Barrett, Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham, and published by the University of Durham. This is a model of skilled compression, and would bear reading again and again by our theological students. (2) *Westcott as Commentator*, by C. K. Barrett (Cambridge University Press, 3s. 6d.). The Bishop Westcott Memorial Lecture, 1958. The Professor lets out a secret that when the New Testament Seminar in Durham a few years ago studied Ep. Hebrews, they had an unusual discovery. Often they found that Westcott had already given a lucid summary of all the ways of construing a complicated sentence that occurred to us (and often several that had not occurred to us), and had given reasons for preferring one of them, whose cogency it was hard to dispute. (3) *The Apostolic Ministry*, by Arnold Ehrhardt (*Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers*, No. 7, 8s. 6d.). The brilliant author has amassed an immense amount of learning in many fields. He is a convinced Anglican, but that does not prevent him from challenging Anglican and Presbyterian alike. For example the third thesis which he defends is: 'The Church is Apostolic by its faith, not by any outward sign, neither by any law or command of the risen Lord. So far from being a privilege, Apostolicity indicates the frailty of the Church. It means second-hand, not first-hand.' The explanation of this thesis is quite reasonable and deserves close consideration.

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

The Expository Times, October 1959 (T. and T. Clarke, 1s. 9d.).

Old Testament Commentaries.

A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel.

Studies in Philology (North Carolina University Press, via C.U.P., \$1.50).

July 1959.

George Eliot's Unpublished Poetry, by B. J. Paris.

The Journal of Politics, May 1959.

Transformation of British Labour Party Policy since 1945, by G. Loewenberg.

The Harvard Theological Review, January 1959.

On the Rules Regulating the Celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, by F. Sokolowski.

Milton's Arianism Reconsidered, W. B. Hunter, Jr.

The Scottish Journal of Theology, September 1959 (Oliver and Boyd, 6s. 6d.).

The Christian Conception of Love, by W. Lillie.

do., December 1959.

Is Language about God Fraudulent? by F. Ferré.

Unitas, Spring 1959.

The whole Number is devoted to the Ecumenical movement.

The International Review of Missions, January 1960.

The Roman Catholic Church.

Our Contributors

KAY M. BAXTER
M.A.

Née fforde. Obtained Honours in Modern Languages at Newnham College, followed by a scholarship to R.A.D.A. Has experience of acting, teaching, writing, public speaking. Is Secretary of Cambridge University Women's Appointments Board, and Chairman of Religious Drama Society's Council.

J. ERIC FENN
B.Sc.

Moderator-Elect of the Presbyterian Church of England. Professor of Christian Doctrine in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham. Assistant Director of Religious Broadcasting, B.B.C., 1939-44, and then in charge of Overseas Religious Broadcasting. Editorial Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1948-56.

R. NEWTON FLEW
M.A., D.D.

Moderator of Free Church Federal Council, 1945-6. President, Methodist Conference, 1946-7. Principal of Wesley House, Cambridge, 1937-55. Author and Editor of various important theological books.

JOHN FOSTER
M.A., D.D.

Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.

G. FRAZER THOMPSON
M.A.

Methodist Minister. Educated Sheffield University and Didsbury College. Principal, Central College Batticaloa, Ceylon, 1914-21. Methodist Chaplain, H.M. Prison, Wandsworth, 1936-42. Secretary, Royal London Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society since 1939.

KENNETH G. GREET

Educated at Bristol and at Handsworth College, Birmingham. For seven years he was Minister of the Methodist Central Hall, Tonypandy, prior to taking up his present work as Secretary of the Department of Christian Citizenship of the Methodist Church.

J. ARTHUR HOYLES

Methodist Minister. Has investigated penal methods on the Continent and in the United States. Author of *The Treatment of the Young Delinquent, Religion in Prison* and *The Pastor's Dilemma*.

C. A. JOYCE
M.B.E., M.A.

After serving in the First World War, entered the Prison Service, and became Housemaster at Wakefield Prison. Later Deputy Governor at Durham Prison; Governor of H.M. Boys' Prison, Wormwood Scrubs; Governor of Camp Hill Borstal Institution, Isle of Wight; and the first Governor of H.M. Hollesley Bay Colony, Suffolk. Lecturer and broadcaster.

ARNE-JACOB KRISTOFFERSEN
TH.D., D., M.A., B.D.

Methodist Minister, a Norwegian, now living in Sweden. One of the delegates to the Methodist Institute Oxford 1958. Is teaching Christianity and Philosophy in a State College, Almhult, Sweden.

A. J. LEWIS

Moravian Minister in Bath. Formerly Headmaster of Fulneck School; Principal of the Moravian Theological College, Manchester; Lecturer in the Faculty of Theology, University of Manchester; Editor of the *Moravian Messenger*.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE
M.A., HON.D.D.

Methodist Minister. President of the Wesleyan Conference, 1929. Sometime tutor and later principal of Handsworth College. Author of works on Theology and Sociology.

JOSEPH A. STRATTON
B.D.

Entering Methodism when seventeen years old, he was led to a pacifist conviction that resulted in a year's imprisonment in 1942. While in Wormwood Scrubs he was finally accepted for the Methodist Ministry.

MERFYN TURNER

Warden of Norman House, a scheme for homeless offenders.

wn-
has
Is
ents
l.

ssor
am.
44,
orial
s.

ent,
use,
stant

y of

loury
14-
42.
iety

am.
entral
as
the

the
ment
tor's

rice,
duty
son,
ion,
Bay

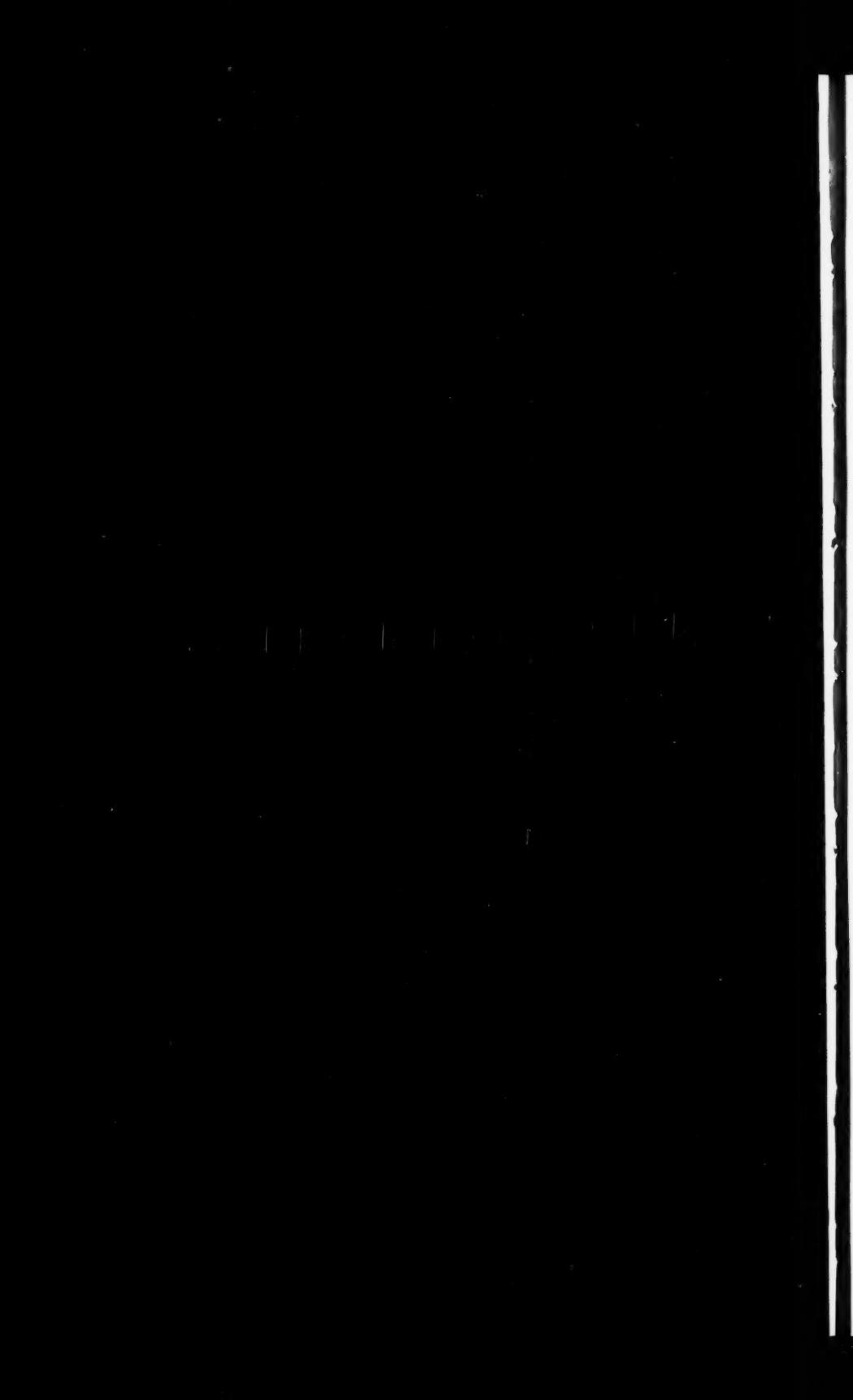
ne of
ach-
nult,

neck
lege,
rsity

ence,
orth

to a
at in
i for

d by



NEW AND RECENT BOOKS

THE PROMISE OF THE SPIRIT

By William Barclay

The Methodist Lent Book 1960

The purpose of this book is to collect what the Bible actually says about the Holy Spirit. Jesus commanded His disciples not to begin their task until they had received the Spirit. The Holy Spirit was the dynamic of the early Church and the early Church was life in the Spirit.

Paper covers 5s. net. Boards 7s. 6d. net

A NEW MIND FOR A NEW AGE

By Alan Walker

A new age is here—an age of satellites, electronics, and hydrogen bombs—thrusting us closer to our distant neighbours and creating revolutionary new pressures all around us. Each of us must come to terms with the new age, either by yielding to its pressures, or seizing the new opportunities it offers. Only by finding a new mind in Christ can the initiative be gained.

10s. 6d. net

PROTESTANT CATHOLICITY

By Gordon Rupp

This book contains the Cadoux Lecture on *The Relevance of Reformation Studies* and the Scott Liddett Lecture on *The Protestant Tradition and Christian Unity*.

6s. net

THE GOSPELS. A Short Introduction

By Vincent Taylor, Ph.D., D.D.

This book should be of service to students, and to the growing number of readers who are keenly interested in the question of Gospel Origins.

(A new Edition) 6s. 6d. net

JOHN WESLEY'S PRAYERS

Edited by Frederick C. Gill, M.A.

Wesley's aim was to include in the course of his prayers for a week the whole scheme of Christian duty. They deserve to be much more widely known, and as presented here, selected and edited with an Introduction by the author of *The Romantic Movement and Methodism*, they offer not only to Methodists but to the Christians of all Communions a helpful devotional anthology.

(A new Edition) 5s. net

THE CLUE TO ROME

Introduction to a City

By Reginald Kissack

Illustrated by George Reid

This is the only book on Rome that tells of 2,700 years in 27,000 words, traces a single Living Idea through them all, and lets places explain the idea. It is written for the three-day tourist who wants not just to see the City but to understand it.

8s. 6d. net

THE EPWORTH PRESS

25-35 City Road, London, E.C.1

SOME RELIGIOUS PLAYS *in the Drama Library*

NOAH by ANDRÉ OBEY	4s 6d
<i>Introduction</i> by MICHEL SAINT-DENIS	
THREE MEDIEVAL PLAYS	6s
<i>Coventry Nativity Play; Everyman; Master Pierre Pathelin</i>	
<i>Edited, with an Introduction, by JOHN ALLEN</i>	
EMMANUEL by JAMES FORSYTH	3s 6d
A nativity play, with notes to producers	
TWO SAINTS' PLAYS	4s 6d
<i>St Chad of the Seven Wells—LEO LEHMAN</i>	
<i>Man's Estate—ROBERT GITTINGS</i>	
GOOD FRIDAY by JOHN MASEFIELD	4s 6d
THE CHESTER MYSTERY PLAYS	7s 6d
<i>adapted into modern English by MAURICE HUSSEY</i>	
Containing sixteen plays, with production notes, stage directions, and an introduction on medieval drama.	
THE ROAD TO EMMAUS	4s
<i>by JAMES FORSYTH</i>	
An Eastertide play, introduced by MICHAEL BARRY	
CHRIST'S COMET	6s 6d
<i>by CHRISTOPHER HASSALL</i>	
<i>Canterbury Festival Play for 1958</i>	

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

15-16 QUEEN STREET · MAYFAIR · LONDON W1